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ABSTRACT

Leading experts in the field of education addressing the 1985 annual meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, had as their common theme the topic of educational and organizational change in teacher education. The following papers were presented: (1) "Excellence in Teacher Education" (C. Peter Magrath); (2) "A Time for Beginnings" (Robert L. Egbert--The Charles W. Hunt Lecture); (3) "In Change Delight" (W. Ann Reynolds); (4) "Lead Me and Leave Me Alone" (Daniel E. Griffiths); (5) "Policy Issues in Teacher Education" (David C. Smith); (6) "Teacher Education and Teacher Testing: The Rush to Mandate" (Gregory R. Anrig); (7) "School Improvement: Common Knowledge, Common Sense, Uncommon Practice" (Ann Lieberman); (8) "Applying Perspectives from Organizational Theory to Change in Schools of Education" (David L. Clark, Judy Meloy); (9) "Disseminating Educational Innovations: Implications for a Workable Process" (Craig H. Blakely, James S. Fairweather); (10) "School Reform: Joining Context and Commitment" (Bernard R. Gifford); (11) "Redefining the Professional Development of Teachers" (Michael G. Fullan); and (12) "The Challenges of Change" (Robert L. Saunders). (JD)

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THE LEADING EDGE

Innovation and Change in Professional Education

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American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
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THE LEADING EDGE:

Innovation and Change in Professional Education

Selected Papers from the 1985 Annual Meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education

Volume Editor
Sandra Packard
Provost
University of Tennessee
at Chattanooga

American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
One Dupont Circle, Suite 610
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 293-2450

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PREFACE

Periodically in the history of a profession a time comes to change, not via small, slow, incremental steps, but through urgent and radical action. Sometimes, such change is brought about by major societal upheaval, sometimes by the introduction of a revolutionary new idea or invention, and sometimes no one cause can be identified. Rather, many factors lend themselves to the creation of an environment or zeitgeist for change.

At this time in the profession of teacher education we are experiencing such a zeitgeist. A myriad of factors—teacher shortages, an erosion of educational standards in the schools and high quality candidates in teacher education programs, and a national report decrying a crisis in education—are all contributing to this zeitgeist. Recognizing not only the inevitability, but also the desirability of change for teacher education, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education selected as the theme for its 1985 annual meeting in Denver, Colorado "The Leading Edge: Innovation and Change in Professional Education."

At this meeting leading experts in the fields of educational and organizational change were invited to address the AACTE membership on factors affecting change with the specific intent of assisting deans and heads of teacher education to face a leadership challenge as unpredictable as that faced by Columbus when he struck out for the new world. Like Columbus in his time, deans of education today must convince their crews that journeys into unknown waters (e.g., five year programs, competency testing, etc.) will reap riches well worth

the dangers. Educational leadership today requires courage, fortitude and a willingness to ski "the leading edge." Whatever the final outcome, the papers printed from this conference may someday be the historical record of the self-conscious will of a profession seeking to change itself in radical ways to achieve excellence—a laudable aim.

Sandra Packard
Chair, 1985 Annual
Meeting Planning Committee

INTRODUCTION

The theme of the 1985 Annual Meeting was especially appropriate in view of the controversy and misunderstanding which surround teacher education.

It was fitting that the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Teacher Education should be unveiled at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. This report constitutes a significant statement of importance to the practicing educational community as well as the higher education community. The report holds special importance because it is the only national report which addresses the preparation of the next generation of individuals who will teach our future leaders, scientists, Nobel Prize winners, educators, and citizens. The report was presented by the Chairman of the Commission, C. Peter McGrath, President of the University of Missouri System. The address presented by President McGrath merits careful study and reflection.

Another address of special significance is that presented by Dr. Ann Reynolds, the Chancellor of California State University. While Dr. Reynolds served on the National Commission for Excellence in Education, it is not for that reason alone that her address constitutes an important statement on teacher education. It is an important statement because it was made by a knowledgeable, informed, and major figure in higher education.

The Hunt Lecture was delivered by Dr. Robert Egbert, Professor and Dean Emeritus at the University of Nebraska and staff director of the National Commission on Excellence in Teacher Education. His perspective as a teacher educator and

one close to, but not part of, the Commission made him uniquely qualified to interpret the report to the members of the AACTE.

The text of all these addresses, and of other excellent general session and major concurrent session speakers, are found within the pages of this volume. These works underscore the conviction that there exists an opportunity, if not an expectation, for major change and improvement in teacher education.

The annual meeting has been described as one of substance. This volume is intended to be of value to those who wish to continue to reflect upon and apply the ideas and programs presented at the meeting in the interest of innovation and change in professional education.

David C. Smith
AACTE President,
1984–1985

I

EXCELLENCE IN TEACHER EDUCATION

C. Peter Magrath

I would like to share a true story. In 1949, I was one of four students, all boys, who comprised the senior class of a tiny high school in Bremerhaven, West Germany. It was operated by the United States military for school-age children whose parents were affiliated with the American occupation of Germany. On the first day of class, our English teacher, with the marvelous name of Miss Wright, a recent graduate of UCLA, eagerly and brightly informed us that she was going to teach us to write. She said, and I still vividly recall her words after all these years, that while indelicate she would put it bluntly: Most persons suffered from literary constipation, and therefore needed to develop regular habits of composition! Four teenage boys were embarrassed, giggled nervously, and rolled their eyes at each other.

Every day in Miss Wright's class we were required to write about something—anything—for five minutes, and we had to complete essays every weekend. We cursed her, her demands, and her proddings. But we respected her. She started us on the path to effective writing. Of all the teachers I have had in 51 years, it is Miss Wright who stands out. Why?

(1.) Because she was totally competent in the subject matter she taught. (2.) Because she understood methods of teaching, and knew how to motivate her pupils. (3.) Because she was enthusiastic.

Miss Wright was a teacher, a great one; I dedicate my remarks to her and to all other excellent teachers like her.

My assignment is to summarize the findings and recommendations of the National Commission on Excellence in

Teacher Education. It also provides me an opportunity to share some of my personal thoughts on teacher education, a central and critical issue both for our nation and its colleges—*not* at risk, but at the threshold of a new day.

Before turning to the commission's findings and recommendations let me explain some basic premises which, it seems to me, must be understood if reform and improvement are to occur. Each of you of course can make your own list, but for me there are at least five self-evident premises that should guide our thinking as we continue to debate and march toward progress in our nation's schools:

Premise I: Education in the nation's schools can be no better than our teachers.

Premise II: The quality of teachers, the quality of education in the schools, and the quality of teacher education are inseparable.

Premise III: Our nation's schools are far better than their critics allow, but poorer than our country deserves. Our nation's teachers both need and merit commendation, not condemnation, from those who profess concern about the quality of the American educational enterprise.

Premise IV: The question of access and opportunity for all, most particularly and explicitly the diverse ethnic and minority groups that enrich our nation's population and therefore our schools, needs to be addressed forthrightly and creatively as we work to improve teacher education and our schools.

Premise V: If the United States wishes to have better schools, Americans must insist upon high quality teachers. And we must pay and reward teachers as true professionals.

After more than a year of thinking through the issues of teacher education in our nation's schools, I have concluded that there is no single, simple problem, and therefore there is no single, simple solution. Here is a case where the principle of *Caveat Emptor* should prevail: The buyer, the American citizen, ought to be very careful indeed about buying simple solutions, quick fixes, and dramatic breakthroughs. For one thing, the state of our schools, teachers and teacher education programs is not by any stretch of the imagination a disaster area;

it is much better than many allow. For another, simple, easily packaged, and ready-to-implement solutions promise something they cannot deliver. They will lead to frustration and divert attention from the real task: to improve the teaching of teachers and the quality of education in our nation's schools by sensible discussion and clear, thoughtfully considered steps backed by a public attitude of understanding and support for the nation's teachers and their education, and matched by the necessary resources. That thought, in turn, takes us to the findings and recommendations of the National Commission on Excellence in Teacher Education.

Our commission calls for a series of changes because of our conviction that significant improvements can and must be made in our nation's teacher education programs. We worked, naturally, from a series of assumptions honed and refined at the meetings, hearings, and seminars that we conducted—as well as our own individual readings and thinking processes. Not surprisingly, we believe that we have a contribution to make by addressing an absolutely critical ingredient related to the quality of our nation's schools, which really had not been covered systematically by other commissions and study groups these past two years. This, of course, is the question of how prospective teachers are recruited, educated, employed, and developed into fully competent professionals.

We believe that every part of a teacher's education can be improved, even in the best of the existing programs. We view teaching as a complex and subtle human endeavor that is guided by knowledge that is both scientific and artistic. Teachers are not and must not be regarded as technicians who simply follow directions in a teacher's manual, or march to precise orders given by principals or other supervisors. As our report suggests, teachers working from knowledge that they have acquired through their study, research, and practice must make complex decisions about their students and the curriculum:

> Their knowledge of the subject to be taught must go beyond mastery of facts; teachers must understand what information is appropriate to teach to youngsters of different ages and how that information is best taught and learned. Professional teachers also understand the numerous educational issues that confront

> today's schools, and they can explain these to parents and other interested citizens. We believe that teachers must be such professionals. (National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education, 1985, p.2)

Our commission further believes that schools will remain critical, highly visible institutions in our society, and that many of their traditional roles and responsibilities will persist. The reality is that people of a wide range of ages will continue to spend major portions of their lives in schools, studying either individually or in groups. We applaud and are certainly not frightened by the new technologies and the alternative resources that can complement and enrich education. We firmly believe, however, that learning at home, whether through computers or other technological advancements, will not and should not replace our nation's schools.

And yes, we believe that like it or not—and I for one like it because I believe it is correct—the education of new teachers will continue to be centered in our colleges and universities. Surely we must be neither embarrassed nor surprised with the knowledge that our colleges and universities are imperfect; they are after all human enterprises. But, the chorus of critics to the contrary, I remain convinced by the facts and the results that our American system of higher education represents one of this nation's most remarkable accomplishments. It is our nation's colleges and universities that provide the necessary structure and the systematic study of organized bodies of knowledge, as well as the scholarly inquiry and intellectual discourse, that is vital in the education of all professions—including the teaching profession.

Our commission believes that teacher education is not a one shot activity, limited within a time capsule; it is, rather, a continuing process of career and professional growth. Teachers have an obligation to continue to educate themselves, as well as their students, and they have a corresponding right to expect not only good initial preparation, but systematic evaluation, constructive criticism, and support, particularly during their early years of teaching. We believe, too, that while education must significantly involve the federal government, it must remain a state responsibility. Just as it is true that our nation's schools cannot be improved without federal programs of support and encouragement, so also is it true that our na-

tional interest would be ill-served were we to move toward federally prescribed curricula, teacher tests, and teaching standards made and mandated in Washington, D.C.

We organized our commission work around five major topics: the supply and demand of quality teachers; the programs for teacher education; the question of accountability for teacher education; the issue of adequate resources for teacher education; and the environmental conditions necessary to support high quality teachers—and, therefore, the highest quality of teaching.

Let me turn to the first of our five topics, *the supply and demand of quality teachers*. It is dramatically clear that we are not attracting anywhere near the needed numbers of our brightest college students into teacher education programs. As we move rapidly toward the 21st century, the evidence is equally indisputable that we are not attracting sufficient numbers of students into our teacher education programs, particularly in certain critical areas—computers, foreign languages, mathematics, and science. We face a three-dimensional challenge: not only are too many of the brightest students avoiding the teaching profession, but not enough students in absolute numbers are being attracted into teaching. Moreover, we are facing what I, at least, can only describe as a crisis in attracting minorities into the profession. Consider this fact: Our nation's minorities constitute more than 25% of our school population, yet today minorities comprise less than 13% of the teaching force in the kindergarten through 12th grade classrooms. Even more disturbing, by the next decade, the respective figures are projected to be 30% and 5%. Our common task in the national interest must be to increase the number of minority teachers in order to make the supply side of that projection inaccurate.

The commission has three interrelated recommendations to address the supply and demand challenge. First, admission to and graduation from teacher education programs should be based upon rigorous academic and performance standards. We need teacher candidates who are above average scholars and above average in all the critical skills related to teaching. We need teacher graduates who have demonstrated academic mastery of the subjects they are to teach, and the techniques and principles that underlie effective teaching. Upon this issue

there is simply no room for compromise. Not only must we attract and graduate only the best, but our nation—the states working in collaboration with the federal government—must launch a nationwide campaign to recruit qualified candidates for the teaching profession. Put bluntly, as our report states, we must be willing to bid for the talents of people, many of whom now have opportunities that were denied them in the past.

Second, since we cannot afford to lower standards, we recommend that incentives be raised. The public must be assured too that the additional funds required are purchasing quality education for the next generation. Our third recommendation under the supply and demand issue is equally vital: special programs should be developed to attract capable minority candidates to the teaching profession. Here again, special steps—backed by real investments and resources—must be taken by our federal and state governments and private philanthropies. We cannot allow a lack of finances to bar qualified minority students from entering teacher education programs.

Our second commission topic addresses the *programs for teacher education*. The issues here are complex, and I must report that, although we unanimously agreed that teacher education programs must be improved, we came at these issues from different perspectives and somewhat different judgments.

We cannot walk away from the fact that there are legitimate issues here that must be addressed by our teacher education programs. The commission notes and applauds the fact that many serious efforts are being made by states, individual colleges and universities, and professional organizations to redesign and improve the programs that prepare our teachers. That is as it should be, for, to cite but one piece of disturbing evidence, a recent poll of teachers showed that only half rated their training programs as A or B on the most commonly understood grading scale in our society—while 50% of the teachers polled rated their programs as C, average at best, or worse.

Change, very simply, is imperative. We are asking that those entering the teaching profession attain an academic concentration in a genuine liberal arts curriculum. They deserve an education in which the requirements are clearly equivalent

to a bachelors degree. We believe that all teacher education programs, even the best, need to be improved. I hope that there is no misunderstanding about what our report means when it says this about our nation's teachers:

> They need at least as much knowledge of the subject to be taught as an undergraduate liberal arts major possesses. They need special knowledge in understanding how students learn concepts in a subject and what to do if students have problems learning the material. Further, teachers need considerable practice in real situations where their work is constructively criticized. (National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education, 1985, p. 11)

But I wish, also, to call attention to this point: Our commission affirms that quality teacher education programs, built around a strong and first-class academic content, must help teach their students how to become teachers.

It is all too easy to ridicule "how to teach" courses; those that are easy should be ridiculed. But teaching combines both art and science, and while it must first and foremost proceed from a strong and rigorous base of academic content, a teacher must know how to communicate that content. Our nation's new generation of teachers must have knowledge as to how one teaches students of different ages and backgrounds and how one helps students overcome difficulties and errors. No less important, our nation's teachers must benefit from a solid base in organized research, which contains vital information about teaching—information that comes from practical and documented experiences. And yes, this is a technological age. Our nation's teachers must know how to integrate technology imaginatively into effective teaching practices. We suggest also that practical field experience is a vital ingredient of effective teacher education programs; on its own, however, it is insufficient.

As a consequence, we make three recommendations under the topic of teacher education programs. The first is that each teacher education program should be built around an exacting and intellectually challenging integration of general liberal studies and specialization in an academic major and the academic content and practice of professional education. I hope that this section of our report will be read with particular care. We argue for demanding and sequential programs, programs

that inescapably will require longer periods of study than are now required by most colleges and universities.

The second recommendation is that, following their completion of a teacher education program and the awarding of a provisional certificate, new teachers should complete an induction period or an internship of at least one year, during which compensation would be provided.

Third, we recommend that states encourage and assist the evaluation and development of experimental teacher education programs. We ask the states to provide genuine support and resources to colleges and universities that wish to develop new approaches in teacher education, not merely modifications of existing courses but significant structural changes.

Our third major inquiry was on the subject of *accountability for teacher education.* In life it is often the case that strengths and virtues can, if pushed too far, become weaknesses and vices. This appears to be the case with regard to the difficult question of who should be accountable for teacher education. Clearly, accountability is warranted and needed. But if everyone is theoretically accountable—if there are literally too many cooks stirring the broth of accountability—then in reality no one is accountable. It is a strength of American teacher education programs that they are diverse; countless experiments and approaches have opportunities to blossom. It is a weakness that the responsibility for accountability is so broadly shared.

There are over 1200 colleges and universities offering teacher education programs. Each state sets its own standards for these programs and for the certification of teachers; each college decides how it will meet those standards; and each college decides whether or not it will apply for the voluntary accreditation that is available on a national basis. Too much experimentation and too much diversity, when combined with political and economic factors that inevitably impinge upon our teacher education schools, can lead to mediocrity and to fundamentally flawed programs that shortchange the systematic attention to the professional knowledge and skills that teachers require. Such programs, regardless of the names they go by, are in effect apprenticeship programs, which, while perhaps appropriate for artisans learning a skill in the middle ages, are hardly appropriate for aspiring teachers wishing to

learn how to teach students in the complex and technological society moving toward the 21st century.

Our commission offers three practical recommendations aimed at enhancing accountability. The first is that certification and program approval standards and decisions should continue to be state responsibilities in consultation with the profession. Our nation's states cannot and must not ignore their responsibility to control the certification process, but they should delegate the basic responsibility for that certification to proven educational professionals whose duty, in turn, is to assure that high standards are set and met by those who prepare teachers and by those who seek a state's license to teach. The states should maintain and strictly enforce rigorous standards for program review, and voluntary national accreditation should be strengthened as one means for improving teacher education.

Second, we recommend that teacher education programs be located in colleges and universities. There is, I repeat, no quick fix for dealing with the shortages of teachers; but our nation will indeed be in "a fix" if it does not provide for the systematic and integrated study of both content and teaching methods that are essential for the preparation of quality teachers. Teaching and learning are difficult and subtle endeavors; there are skills to teaching; and there is a need to know about children and how they learn and behave. Simply being well versed in an academic subject, essential as that is, does not make a good teacher.

We are eager to see teacher education programs for older students developed and encouraged, for such programs can provide a route for many potentially excellent, prospective teachers to update their knowledge of specialized academic subjects, even as they study the principles of effective teaching. Therefore, our third recommendation under the accountability topic is that alternative programs be developed aimed at tapping the interest and potential represented by prospective teachers who are not traditional college students. As the report declares, "The fundamental differences between the alternative and the traditional program are the audience and the training design, not the content, the rigor, or the expected outcomes" (National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education, 1985, p. 20).

Much of what we propose will be meaningless rhetoric if the resources necessary for quality teacher education do not materialize. This responsibility is national, and it affects us all—state and federal governments; colleges and universities; and private foundations. All citizens must accept responsibility for improved funding for teacher education if the quality of education in our schools is to be truly improved. The rhetoric on this topic could be endless. Here are our recommendations on the issue of *adequate resources for teacher education:* First, sufficient resources must be assigned to teacher education to provide thorough and rigorous programs; and second, both our federal and state governments should provide support and encouragement for the further development, dissemination, and use of research information in education and in teacher education.

We also make a third recommendation: that a national academy for teacher education be established for the nation's most promising teacher educators who would receive high-powered post-graduate traineeships. This national academy would provide visible, tangible proof that there was a place dedicated to national leadership for faculty development and the improvement of teacher education programs. This national academy would provide individual faculty, especially those at early stages in their careers, with opportunities that they could not typically find within their institutions. Its members would be teacher educators from college campuses and their colleagues from the elementary and secondary schools—some of the best of the nation's teachers. Together they would be both learning and assuming new responsibilities for preparing teachers. Just as our national research laboratories engage in sharply focused research on critical problems, and our specialized military academies concentrate on vital national objectives, so too a national academy for teacher education would affirm that teaching is a high national priority for the United States. It would symbolize the fact that teaching is a demanding and rigorous profession, one that enlists some of the best teacher educators and teachers to form an especially distinguished core of teacher educators.

Our commission discussed whether or not we should address first or last the environmental conditions that surround our schools and teacher education programs. In a sense, the

actual juxtaposition of recommendations in a report is relatively unimportant; its findings and recommendations must stand as an integrated whole. Yet, it is clear that unless the public firmly insists that appropriate conditions be put in place to support the highest quality teaching by demanding and supporting fundamental changes in the pay, working conditions, and status of our teachers, the 12 recommendations that precede the final four will never be implemented.

These *environmental recommendations necessary to support quality teachers,* the final topic we considered, speak for themselves: First, teachers' salaries should be increased at the beginning of and throughout their careers to levels commensurate with other professions requiring comparable training and expertise; second, teacher responsibilities and working conditions should be commensurate with the requirements of the job; third, teachers should be provided professional development opportunities and incentives so that they can consistently improve their practice; and fourth, administrative preparation should be enhanced, so that school principals and superintendents can provide instructional leadership and create the conditions that will nurture the profession of teaching.

All of these recommendations are of one piece: Teaching in our nation's schools is a profession, but it is an undervalued and underpaid profession. Encouragingly, movements are underway in many states addressing the shameful—and costly—low status as measured in the profession's poor salaries. No less critical is the establishment of programs and procedures through which teachers can function as other professionals do, improving their status and rewards as their experience and contributions grow over the years. Equally distressing is the lack of professional autonomy in decision-making that too many teachers must labor under; it discourages their creativity, stifles the learning process, and discourages the best and brightest students from considering teaching as a profession. Similarly, we must insist that front-line administrators, and most especially the principals, are given opportunities to benefit from training programs and opportunities so that they can develop their leadership skills. In this way, these professional men and women can inspire and lead the teachers in their schools to become independent and imaginative professionals.

Here, then, is a tour of the report and recommendations

of the National Commission on Excellence in Teacher Education. As one who was privileged to learn about teacher education by chairing this commission, composed of excellent men and women sincerely dedicated to improving teacher education, I fully support all of the recommendations. If adopted, modified, and of course improved over a period of time, they would lead to dramatic improvements in our nation's schools. I have no reservations whatsoever with regard to the report, but if the report were solely my own, I would go further and explicitly endorse a significant structural change in the content of our teacher education programs.

In my judgment the time is at hand, very much at hand, to affirm that teachers are and must be true professionals, and that the programs to prepare them must be structurally strengthened and lengthened so that, quite aside from the important internship programs, they are of five years duration. Obviously there are contrary, and thoughtful, views on this subject; my commission, as a footnote to recommendation four points out, was divided on this issue. But I believe that a strong, indeed a compelling case exists that teacher education programs should adopt a five-year curriculum. The nature of the content to be learned, the imperative need to master an academic discipline, and the difficulty of learning the pedagogy of excellent teaching based on the most contemporary research, requires rigorous programs of longer duration than we now have. I base my case also in terms of all other professions: They require, and appropriately so, formal periods of education that exceed by far the four year period that is currently standard for most teacher education programs. The teacher is not yet a fully vested professional in our society—and this must be changed!

I hope also that there will be a much more dramatic involvement of our college of education faculties in teaching the undergraduate students who are learning to become teachers. As much as I believe that research must be emphasized in our teachers colleges, I am concerned that too few of our collegiate faculties at research universities are devoting their efforts to the actual instruction of undergraduate students who wish to be teachers. We need balance, not the elimination of research, which the commission strongly endorses and I support. But

some of our nation's brightest education faculty are insufficiently involved in the actual teaching of prospective teachers—and this must be changed!

Even more, I hope that a whole new relationship might be developed between our elementary and secondary schools and our colleges of teacher education. University faculty must not only teach undergraduates, but they must on a regular basis teach in the elementary and secondary schools; they should be involved *there* as teachers. Similarly, programs need to be developed in which the best teachers in the elementary and secondary schools, who are marvelous and primary resource persons, can be the teachers of undergraduates learning to be teachers, again on some kind of a periodic basis and in a structured fashion. The use of teaching teams made up of college and elementary and secondary teachers might be one way to further this new approach. But however done, involving our nation's best teachers, not just in field settings which are of course vital, but in classrooms in our colleges and universities, and concurrently involving our college faculty in the nation's public and private schools, makes educational and common sense. We currently lack the indispensable linkage and weave that must exist between education at all levels—and this must be changed!

There is a paradox that constantly bothers me about American education. We argue about it; we have political fights over it; we give it great media attention. Why?—Because we clearly place a high value on public education. Why then, on the average, do we fund it so poorly? Why?

Is it, perhaps, that as a people we are still subconsciously governed by the old and vicious prejudice that says, "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach." Yet is not the contrary the truth: that those who can teach effectively are among the nation's most important doers. We had better act soon on this fact and reassess the value we place on our schools and their teachers, both in word and in deed.

Henry Brooks Adams once commented: "Teachers affect eternity; they can never tell where their influence stops" (Adams, 1974, p. 300). Our common and indispensable task is to nurture and educate those eternal teachers who will truly shape our nation's future.

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II

A TIME FOR BEGINNINGS

Roger L. Egbert

The title for this year's Charles W. Hunt lecture is taken from Chaim Potok's (1976) novel *In the Beginning*. This is the story of David Lurie, a young man who must decide whether to break from his family and intellectual tradition to make a new beginning. The novel suggests that even though beginnings are difficult—especially those beginnings we make by ourselves—sometimes we must make them anyway.

Nineteen eighty-five is such a time for teacher education. For us, 1985 is a year to hope, a year to dream, a year to plan. It is a year to work, a year to confront, a year to do. Nineteen eighty-five is a year to begin.

Because for us 1985 is a year to begin, we must be patient with those among us who stumble when they take bold steps, or even little steps; we must be *impatient* with those who only talk. We must be patient with those who systematize and regularize the best of present practice; we must be impatient with those who only defend the status quo, because this is a year to begin.

Individually and as groups of twos or tens, as states and regions, we must make new starts. We must begin.

The message of this year's Hunt Lecture is one of hope. More than 30,000 professional teacher educators in more than 1200 colleges and universities prepare teachers. That can be a powerful dynamic and intellectual force. It is a force that can provide vitality and hope to all of education—if individually and collectively we all begin anew to design and operate top

quality programs for teachers, *for no matter how good our individual programs may be, they can always be improved.*

The Hunt Lecture's message is one of hope, but it also is one of *hard work* and *risk* and *sacrifice.*

The 1985 Hunt Lecture is addressed primarily to teacher educators who are located in colleges and universities, *because that is who we are,* and it is addressed mostly to the members of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. The message of this year's Hunt Lecture is what we must do—not why; we all know the whys.

My message is addressed to four groups of teacher educators, but these groups are not independent of each other. Indeed, in some sense any member of AACTE can be a member of all four groups. The groups that I address are: first, the leadership of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education; second, teacher education faculties and administrators; third, individual teacher educators, and a fourth group that I shall identify later.

An extremely important group is missing from that list of four—state associations of colleges for teacher education. Education is and will remain largely a state function. Consequently, the most critical actions that affect teacher education will continue to be state actions. In fact, I have said elsewhere (Egbert, 1985) that our greatest danger in teacher education is that we will be forced—or seduced—by governors, legislatures and state departments of education to substitute test scores for serious evaluation of our students, course credits for program rigor, and teaching apprenticeships for clinical programs of teacher education.

Because the issues are so different from one state to another, however, and because I know that members of ACSR—the Advisory Council of State Representatives—are working very hard to improve and coordinate state level efforts, I elected not to address state associations as a group. I have only one suggestion for you—*work together, and always keep your focus on program quality.*

A Call for Change in Teacher Education (1985), the Commission's report, is organized around five themes: (a) supply and demand for quality teachers, (b) content of teacher education programs, (c) accountability for teacher education, (d) resource requirements for teacher education, and (e) conditions

necessary to support the highest quality of teaching. *A Call for Change* recognizes the key roles that several groups play in regard to teacher education: college and university presidents and their boards, governors, state and federal legislators, chief state school officers and their boards, teachers and teacher organizations, school administrators and their boards, and teacher educators. The five themes of *A Call for Change* run throughout the Hunt Lecture; the roles of the key groups also are central.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education

I have chosen to begin by talking to the American Association of Colleges for Teachers Education's (AACTE's) leadership, because its scope is national and its actions affect all of teacher education. The Association should act this year in four areas: first, it should *continue* its work with other professional organizations at the national level; second, it should begin intense initiatives with those groups that make decisions about the existence and the support of teacher education programs; third, it should inform the media of important events in teacher education; and, fourth, it should work with the National Institute of Education and other federal agencies in defining and describing research that is useful to teacher education and in making research information available to teacher educators:

1. *Cooperation with national educational organizations.* AACTE has a long record of cooperation with other national professional organizations through the Forum of Educational Organization Leaders, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, the One Dupont Circle Secretariat, the National Committee for Educational Funding and other efforts. My comment about the need for AACTE to cooperate with other national organizations is intended to recognize and reinforce its existing cooperative efforts, not to suggest that such efforts do not exist.

2. *Groups that make decisions about the existence of teacher education programs. A Call for Change in Teacher Education* identifies two groups—college presidents and states—that determine the existence or non-existence of teacher edu-

cation programs. In addition, federal and state legislators, governors, and private philanthropic groups must be convinced of teacher education's importance if needed resources are to be available for program design and operation; for scholarships, fellowships and guaranteed loans; and for research.

A Call for Change has some very specific words for college and university presidents and their boards.

The message of those words is that presidents should provide leadership and resources for teacher education. They should create an academic and cultural climate wherein teacher education students and faculty are accorded dignity and status comparable to that in other professional fields. Presidents should ensure that teacher educators have the resources to design and conduct highly effective programs. Unless the presidents and boards recognize how important the preparation of teachers is, and hence are willing to devote the needed leadership and resources, they should close down their programs.

AACTE leadership should make sure that the presidents and boards of all colleges and universities having teacher education programs know of the commission's statement to them. Explicitly, AACTE, in conjunction with the commission, should request meetings with the Board of Directors for the various associations of college and university presidents. The agenda for these meetings should be discussion of the commission's view of their responsibilities to and for teacher education. The AACTE stance should be cooperative and understanding—but firm.

Resource requirements for teacher education should also be discussed with other groups. For example, in addition to its meetings with college and university presidents, AACTE, in conjunction with the commission, should arrange conferences with state and federal legislators, governors and philanthropic organizations. The purpose of these conferences should be to deliver the report and to describe and discuss specific *resource needs*. In each instance specific emphasis should be given to the needs of minority students and those colleges and universities that serve them, as well as to research, and to program design and operation, including faculty development.

Through the program approval process, states determine

which teacher education programs can exist. The chief state school officer administers the agency that makes those decisions. Consequently, AACTE should work closely with the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO). In fact, genuine cooperation between our two organizations on a number of issues, including the improvement of teacher education, probably is the best it has ever been. In addition to their work in the Forum of Educational Organization Leaders, AACTE, CCSSO, NEA, and a number of other education organizations are redesigning the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. The partnerships projected in this new design could usher in an era of more cooperative and productive approval and accreditation processes than we have known before.

With partial foundation funding, our AACTE and CCSSO have begun a new forum that periodically brings together representatives of both groups to explore concerns and to conduct open discussions. Issues and ideas from this forum are being fed back into both organizations. Such activities should be continued and expanded, for they provide a unique opportunity to discuss long-range issues related to the preparation and continued development of teachers.

3. *The Media.* In the past few years, education has received more media attention than ever before. Despite our concerns about the nature of that attention, it probably has been at least as constructive as that given many other groups within our society.

Nevertheless our association should take two specific steps in working with the media: first, it should sponsor a forum for key education writers and media representatives. The purpose of this forum should be to inform the writers about teacher education, including trends and developments, as well as to open a dialogue that helps us better understand media and public perceptions of teacher education. Second, AACTE's annual *Report to the Profession* (Heald, 1983) should be a media event. Selected portions should be highlighted. There is no reason that those who write for profit about education should get better publicity for their analyses than we do for ours.

4. *National Institute of Education.* (As of October 1985,

the U.S. Department of Education placed the activities of NIE under an Office for Educational Research and Information (OERI).) AACTE works closely with the National Institute of Education, but my suggestion is for more than a simple continuation of that relationship. Although a significant amount of useful research information is being produced, the traditional dissemination-through-publication method of information transmission is not meeting the needs of teacher education. Indeed, classroom teachers often have earlier practical access to this research information than we do. Regional educational laboratories, teacher organizations, and large city staff development offices all have resources that enable them to transform research information into usable products and processes and make them available to teachers. There have been no comparable organizations or resources to assist teacher educators in the transformation and effective dissemination of research information for use in our preparation programs. We cannot accept the continuation of this condition. Through publications designed explicitly for teacher educators as well as through regional, state, and institutional workshops we must have functional access to developing research information at least as early as other groups. That is the intent of the suggestion that AACTE work with the National Institute of Education—to ensure that regional educational laboratories and other NIE-funded programs recognize the importance of teacher preparation and address our needs in their development and dissemination activities.

Teacher Education Faculties and Administrators

Teacher education faculties and administrators comprise the second group that I want to address.

Although several actions should be taken by teacher education faculties and administrators, five stand out as being particularly crucial. The first task of any teacher education faculty is to nurture its relationships with its colleagues in the schools and on campus. Second, each faculty should decide the scope and size of the teacher education program appropriate for its institution to offer and then request the resources and

administrative attention necessary for its support. Third, the faculty should design and initiate the teacher education program it has always wanted. Fourth, there must be a systematic professional development program for the faculty. And, finally, faculties of two or more colleges or universities should consider ways in which they can work together in sharing ideas, expertise and resources.

1. *The continued success of teacher education depends heavily on several groups other than college and university teacher educators.* Chief among the groups essential to teacher education's success are teachers. The author of a recent paper in the *Kappan* (Clark, 1985) stated, perhaps correctly, that the close relation of teacher education with secondary and, especially, with elementary teachers, is one of the reasons for low prestige of teacher education on college and university campuses. However, his argument is based on an implicit assumption that is false—that campus prestige is a primary goal of teacher education, that such prestige is of value in its own right. This is not so; the primary goal of those who educate professionals should not be to achieve prestige on their campuses; the goal should be to ensure that their students receive the best education possible. Acceptability or prestige on campus should be only an instrumental goal or a by-product.

Teacher education's ties to teachers might well be compared with engineering education's ties to engineers, architecture education's ties to architects, and medical education's ties to physicians. Without the mutual respect that exists between practicing architects and the schools that prepare them, their preparation programs would be severely damaged. Because of our extensive preservice field experiences, teacher education is even more dependent on our practicing professionals. We need the continuing, cooperative support of practicing teachers.

Although our primary goal should not be to achieve prestige on our campuses, we must recognize that by far the largest part of our teacher candidates' education is taken with our colleagues in liberal arts. We need to share in the design of that liberal education, and we must build from it in the pedagogical portion of our program. The best programs for educating professionals, whether they be programs to educate teachers, architects, engineers or members of other professions, are those where faculty in the professional colleges work with

their colleagues in liberal arts in both liberal and professional course and program development.

2. *Request resources.* The faculty's second major assignment should be to make a conscious decision about the size and scope of its program and to request the resources necessary to support such a program. Not every college or university that has *a* teacher education program should offer *all* programs, yet when the commitment is made to have an elementary program, for instance, the offering of a secondary program is quite seductive. Or, if the college has a successful program for training teachers of the mentally retarded, the temptation exists for the same faculty to train teachers of the learning disabled, the visually impaired, or the severely and profoundly handicapped. The preliminary determination of which programs a college or university should offer, and for how many students, should be a very hard-nosed decision of the professional faculty.

If AACTE fulfills its responsibility, it will design a general statement of resources needed for a high quality teacher education program and then discuss this statement with associations of college and university presidents. The intent of the projected resources statement will not be to turn paupers into princes, but to project the resources necessary to provide the classroom instruction and the clinical supervision needed at each step of the program. The statement will describe human resources; it also will include material resources: fixed and portable videotaping equipment; microcomputers, word processors, videodisc equipment and other developing technology and related software; and laboratories for making, testing and using a variety of audiovisual materials.

By the time the faculty has determined the nature and scope of the program that its institution should offer and has decided what resources it will need for such a program, the president should have received the general statement from the association. These two sets of information should provide the basis for a productive series of discussions as well as for decisions. Whether or not the president accepts the faculty's description of the program size and scope and the accompanying request for resources, the teacher education faculty should request a continuing, open dialogue about the program's content, evaluation, and resources.

There is no ideal teacher education program in any ultimate sense: for as we improve, generation by generation, the "ideal" changes. Our generation's task is to make our programs the best we possibly can, just as our predecessors did and as our successors will need to do. And we should acknowledge that every teacher education program, no matter what its quality, can be improved. Thus, every teacher education faculty should review its program, and should modify that program or redesign it and initiate a new program that meets its own high expectations.

Almost a fourth of *A Call for Change* was used to describe teacher education programs, yet the report does not specify details. I suspect that a major reason for this lack of detail is that commission members thought that a primary source of American education's vigor is its diversity. Although the commission clearly wanted high standards in teacher education and valued both liberal and pedagogical education, it gave little indication of wanting to be prescriptively detailed. Ideas, general competencies, experiences, and resources were described, but courses, detailed competencies and dogma were not. Responsibility for designing program details was left to individual institutions.

As individual faculties think about their programs and decide what designs they would like to change, if any, I would suggest they give particular attention to the program portion of a *A Call for Change*. Although I am reluctant to single out any portion of this text—for all of it is important—I must refer to three sentences.

The first sentence is about liberal education. "Liberal education should be a cohesive, planned program—not merely an accumulation of courses scattered across a number of departments." (p. 11) Liberal education has fallen on hard times. Largely because teacher education has followed the pattern of the host college or university, liberal education in some of our programs has also suffered. In many programs, students choose, with few restrictions, from long lists of courses in each of four or five general domains. Little rhyme and less reason govern their choices.

Although the commission did not describe a liberal education program in detail, its language in the above sentence is explicit. The program should be "cohesive" and "planned." It

should not consist simply of an "accumulation of courses." This does not suggest that all colleges and universities should require the same liberal education, but it does indicate that there should be a great deal of planning about the nature of the liberal education each college or university wants for its students. It also suggests careful advising of individual students within the established framework.

Liberal education is particularly important for an elementary teacher because, in addition to its role as *liberator*, it forms the substance from which the entire elementary school curriculum is drawn.

A planned, cohesive liberal education does not require a particularly narrow and uniform set of course choices, but it does suggest that guidelines are important. For example, every intellectual field has both substance and process that produce that substance. Seldom are these two dimensions neatly divided; however, we often treat them as if they were. Most beginning courses emphasize the substance of a field largely to the exclusion of its processes. Students leave these courses with little understanding of the origins of the knowledge they have studied. At the expense of touching on fewer fields, students should have some insight into the processes used to produce knowledge. What are the sources used by an historian, for example, and how do two historians examine the same sources and arrive at the different interpretations that Fawn Brodie (1974) and Merrill Peterson (1970) did in their biographies of Thomas Jefferson? Or did Brodie and Peterson use different sources, and, if so why? How did each one locate and select sources? Or, to choose a quite different field, how does a geneticist approach a research problem? What sorts of questions does she pose and how does she seek answers to questions? Are these processes changing as technology changes?

But, whatever else a teacher education faculty does with its liberal education program, I hope that it emphasizes writing—creative writing, analytic writing, and technical writing. Furthermore, the writing experience should be continued in the pedagogical program. To paraphrase Lenore Ringler's (1984) testimony to the Commission, if teacher educators consider teachers' language use a priority, they will focus on a question like "What writing assignment can I use that will

clarify my students' understanding of the relation between the child's development and the elementary school curriculum?" Rather than "what do my students know about the placement of fractions in the elementary school curriculum?"

In addition to joint planning of the liberal education that their students should have, teacher educators should insist that these courses be taught by the very best of the liberal arts faculty, because such professors often serve as models for candidate teachers. Furthermore, the liberal arts faculty should be so chosen as to model quite different teaching behaviors, not just good lecturing.

The second sentence from *A Call for Change* that I should like to note is, "Every teacher should have a strong background in professional education, because knowledge of the subject is of little consequence if the teacher cannot convey that knowledge and help students learn at a rate and level commensurate with their age and development" (p. 12). Time and again, members of the commission—politicians, school board members, college presidents, teacher organization leaders—emphasized the importance of knowing how to teach as well as what to teach. They recognized that teaching is complex, that knowledge of human development, educational psychology, history, philosophy, and evaluation as well as instructional processes are essential for the teacher. In the education of the teacher, they viewed the study of pedagogy to be equally important with study of the subjects to be taught. The strength of the commission members' feelings about pedagogy can be seen in the detail with which they described it.

The third sentence: "Prospective teachers . . . need experience teaching in real and simulated circumstances, and *to have this teaching analyzed and criticized in accordance with educational science and pedagogical information that is taught in their college or university classes*" (p. 12. Emphasis added). This description assumes that each supervisor of practicum experiences, including student teaching, knows and draws upon the students' entire educational background. It also assumes that the supervisor spends a great deal of time in supervisory activities—preparation, observation, and follow up. In particular, the description assumes the ability to work sensitively and intensively with students and with colleague teachers and faculty. The definition assumes that supervision of clinical and

field experiences requires the highest level of faculty experience and competence.

3. *Formulate and begin a faculty development program.* Most colleges and universities rely on professional meeting attendance and sabbatical leaves as the heart of their faculty development programs. Both of these ventures have value, but they can no more provide our faculty the range of developmental experiences they need than similar programs could for teachers. We faculty members need more consistent and planned experiences with schools than we receive, we need a different sort of interaction with the developing research information bases than we get through meetings and through reading professional journals and other publications, and we need different sorts of opportunities to continue the study of the academic disciplines that underlie our own specializations.

We teacher educators should study and adapt the pertinent portions of the first rate faculty development programs that schools and teacher organizations have developed, often with our assistance (e.g., Wallace, 1984). This sort of program costs money, but a good professional development program is even more important to a teacher education faculty than it is to a school faculty.

4. *Form consortia of teacher education college faculties.* Groups of colleges and universities working together can set and accomplish goals and objectives that single institutions cannot. Two or more colleges working together can share courses and staff, and they can inform each other, reinforce each other's ideas and efforts, build on ideas and experiences, and compare formal and informal data and experiences.

Colleges working together, much like professors working together, can develop ideas, plan programs, and accomplish complex ventures that neither could do alone. For colleges and universities to work together does complicate life, but the rewards can be worth the effort.

Individual Teacher Educators

At the heart of any teacher education program is the individual professor. Each professor plans, studies, teaches, advises and supervises. The professor determines personal and course

expectations. And the individual professor conceives and conducts research.

Often times we professors think of deans, directors, and department chairs as being omniscient and omnipotent, but they really are not. If a college or university has a first rate teacher education program, it will be because we professors make it so. (We teach the courses, we supervise the student teachers and we conduct the research.) Deans, directors and department chairs can help, however, by securing resources, encouraging and prodding us and appreciating our efforts. They can help us envision the possible—and even the impossible. Sometimes they must refuse to accept our excuses; they must keep our feet to the fire.

Because professors are at the heart of the teacher education program, I want to talk with my colleagues about what we can do.

We have all heard many times the story of the wise man who observed three bricklayers at work. After watching them for a while, he asked each one in turn what he was doing. The first bricklayer said, "I am laying bricks." The second bricklayer looked at his work and then responded, "I am building a wall." The third bricklayer paused, raised his eyes to the magnificent but uncompleted structure, and said, "I am building a cathedral." That story usually is used to emphasize the importance of vision and commitment. That interpretation is useful, but I submit that the good professor of teacher education must have all three perspectives—the individual brick, the wall and the cathedral—not just the view of properly laid brick or the vision of a cathedral. A view that is restricted to a single brick—or, a course or a unit—misses both the relationship among parts of the program and the vision of what the teacher can be and what education can accomplish for humankind. Conversely, the *visionary* bricklayer may lay bricks unevenly, construct an unsightly wall, and thus fail totally in building a cathedral. The professor who is only visionary may teach a course that is useless in helping prepare a competent third-grade teacher.

A great teacher educator is one who loves teaching, just as a great teacher does. The great teacher educator demonstrates that love by the quality of her planning and teaching

and her work with student teachers. The great teacher educator also understands the relationships among the various parts of the program, and she helps her students see how what she teaches builds upon that which is learned in other courses and experiences and how it contributes to the total program. The greater teacher educator sees in her mind's eye a cathedral of education.

Good professors set high standards for themselves; they set equally high standards for their colleagues and students. The standards that good professors set *demand hard work and intellectual rigor.* Students of good professors learn facts—they also learn ideas and how to analyze, combine, dissect, and recombine ideas and facts. They learn how to present and discuss their ideas orally and in writing. They get to see and hear themselves and to analyze their own and others' oral and written performance. This is hard work for professors and for students. Lectures and desultory, full-class discussions of "chapter five in your text" are much easier for everyone, but they contribute little to the development of the prospective teacher.

Good teacher education professors work closely with their campus and school colleagues. They may teach in teams or they may work together on the detailed planning and teaching of separate courses and field experiences but, at the very least, they share ideas, plans, and syllabi and they discuss successes and failures. They work with their colleagues, both on campus and in the schools, to develop common understandings and expectations about both process and performance. Good teacher educators recognize the shared responsibility for student teaching and other field supervision. They acknowledge and respect the cooperating teacher's role and they acknowledge and fulfill their own role.

Good teacher education professors understand and appreciate the centrality of research and other scholarly activity to education and teacher education. They understand the importance of theory to guide research, and they have their own research programs; they keep current with the research that is most directly pertinent to their areas of responsibility. They also maintain familiarity with research that informs other parts of education and teacher education. As teacher educators, professors use this research information in their classes, seminars, and field supervision; they also inform their stu-

dents of the research base from which they draw and help their students to know that, like other professions, an increasing amount of what we do is founded in research.

The Discoverers

In his book *The Discoverers*, Daniel Boorstin (1983) describes the discoveries of a relative handful of people who have had an effect on the progress of humankind that is totally disproportionate to their numbers. We may or may not have any persons in teacher education today whose contributions will one day make them eligible to join Boorstin's select group. But we do have some persons who project characteristics similar to Boorstin's discoverers. Those persons form my fourth group.

I would not presume to name members of this group, partly because I'm not smart enough to recognize them and partly because I know so few of the total group of teacher educators. However, my understanding is that discoverers are bold. They are creative, single-minded, confident of their own ideas. They are truth seekers, not publicity or acceptance seekers. The truth they seek is not the truth of the alchemist nor truth as in an ultimate truth, but truth in the sense of discoveries beyond those that others have known, for example:

1. the truth of abstract discoveries—Thorndike's law of effect, Piaget's developmental stages, Freud's realm of the unconscious, Pavlov's conditioned reflex, and Bloom's taxonomies;
2. the truth of invention—Allen's microteaching, Flanders' teacher and student behavior coding;
3. the truth of a teacher education program that develops teachers who are an order of magnitude more competent than those who went before.

If the fate of teacher education's discoverers parallels that of many of Boorstin's discoverers, they will be ignored or ridiculed or treated with disdain. Nevertheless, I urge our discoverers to go ahead with their truth seeking, for they offer our greatest promise for the future; indeed, in a very real sense, they are our future.

When I began preparing the Hunt lecture, two titles representing very different themes competed for my approval. One was a theme of concern, almost gloom; the second theme was one of hope. The title of gloom was "The Sky is not Falling

. . . Yet;" the title of hope, the title I chose, was "A Time for Beginnings."

The theme of gloom was prompted by the criticisms we hear of teacher education, by the moves within a number of states to remove teacher education programs from colleges and universities, and above all, by the complacency and defensiveness of some teacher educators.

My choice of the second theme, with the corresponding title, "A Time for Beginnings" was predicated on support for teacher education from the 12 non-teacher educators on the commission, on their support for continuation of teacher education as a responsibility of college and university teacher educators and on their support for the primacy of pedagogy in teacher preparation. My choice of hope as the theme for the Hunt Lecture was further predicated on the support given teacher education by our colleagues in teaching, in administration, and among the chief state school officers. But again, above all, my choice for a theme of hope was predicated on the belief that most teacher educators *are prepared* to look analytically and critically at their own programs and their own professions.

Make no mistake, though, people's patience is running thin. Second-rate programs that do not improve soon will be in deep trouble, if they are not already. And, if we as a profession do not demonstrate a serious interest in the improvement of all teacher education, not just our own programs, all of us—and even our very best programs—will be jeopardized. Defensiveness and complacency in a time of crisis are not the stuff that justifies hope!

At the start of my talk, I referred to Chaim Potok's novel *In the Beginning* (1976), and repeated the theme of that novel—that beginnings are difficult. They are, but they are exciting, too, and 1985 is a time for beginning.

For some of us, the next few years will be, as Thomas Paine said, the times that try our souls. Or, in the somewhat gentler words of his contemporary poet—philosopher, Robert Burns, speaking to the mouse, whose home he had just destroyed, "The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men Gang aft agley, An' lea'e us naught but grief and pain, For promised joy. Still thou are blessed, compared wi' me! *The present only toucheth thee: But, och! I backward cast my e'e On prospects drea; An'*

forward, though I canna see, I guess an' fear" (Standard Book of British and American Verse, pp. 224–225).

For too long we have been trapped in our own fears of the future—a *FUTURE we 'canna see." In 1985, we must put those fears behind us; we must begin.*

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III

IN CHANGE DELIGHT

W. Ann Reynolds

I grew up in a home where "AACTE" and "teacher education" were watchwords. Among the household names during my childhood were Dean Wesley E. "Walleye" Peik of Minnesota, Charles Hunt of Oneonta, Evan Collins of Albany, Walter Anderson of New York University, our beloved John Emans of Ball State (who gave me my first academic job), Lawrence Walkup of Northern Arizona and Edward Pomeroy, former director of AACTE. My father thought that these men along with Walter Hager, Wendell "Whack" Wright, Warren Lovinger, V. William Maucker, and Donald Cottrell were vital to teacher education in our country.

That the names that I remember as leaders in AACTE in yesteryear were nearly all men is indicative of our changing times. I am pleased that our Commission on Teacher Education was multiethnic and included women. I am also encouraged by the multicultural sensitivity of the Commission as reflected in its report. In 1956, in AACTE's "Teacher Education for a Free Society," Russell Cooper of the University of Minnesota wrote:

> The schools are the embodiment of the American Dream . . . every child shall have an opportunity for education, regardless of race, creed, or economic condition. (p. 1)

I think Dean Cooper would be pleased, in this regard, with the Commission's report.

In the long period of years when the annual meeting of AACTE was held in Chicago, attendance by our family was a must. In connection with AACTE, I may have visited the Conrad Hilton Hotel more times than Zsa Zsa Gabor, even though

she was married to the owner. Out of these years as an "AACTE child," and from further years as a professor, mother of school children, and administrator, there have developed in my thinking some "laws of teacher education" which I believe will remain constant in our society even though we are in the midst of a period of great societal change that is affecting our schools and teacher education. These laws are:

1. The American people have always had and always will have a deep and abiding love for the public schools.

2. Good teachers are revered and remembered by all citizens of our country, regardless of their status. We remember teachers—not systems, facilities or conferences—and, only rarely, administrators.

3. Since our democracy was formed, our schools have been on trial both at home and around the world. That this has been true and continues is a good sign that we are a free society.

4. For good teachers to be produced they must be prepared in teacher education programs where the university or college-wide academic climate is supportive and redemptive with regard to the role of the teacher in our society. A college or university which has an environment invidious to teacher education or to the public schools will probably be unable to produce good teachers.

The title of this article is "A Chancellor's Perspective." That perspective in three words of Elizabethan English is: in change delight. I've borrowed these words from the 16th century English poet, Edmund Spenser, first because I want to underscore my sense that change is a force with which each era must contend, if not engender, and second because I believe the change that educators of teachers are facing is the one in which we can delight. We as much as Spenser and his fellow poets—Ben Johnson and William Shakespeare—are participating in a renaissance—theirs of English literature, ours of teacher education and the teaching profession.

I use the term renaissance in its most pure sense—as describing rebirth. Teacher education in our nation is being reborn; the only question in my mind is what its new shape will be. That lies very much in your hands. I urge teacher educators to delight in the opportunity to bring new vigor to teacher

education, and in so doing, to help raise the quality of education for the children and youth of this nation.

The new climate for renaissance in teacher education is being created by population changes and turnover in the profession. In California, the number of young children is again increasing. This growth in the numbers of school-age children will create a demand for teachers which will be heightened by the retirement of large numbers of teachers over the next 10 years. Our State Superintendent estimates California will need 100,000 new teachers by the early 1990's—mostly at the elementary level. Of course, population growth is not even among the states, and the demography of the teaching force also varies from place to place. But most of us are moving to a condition of shortage rather than surplus in the supply of teachers.

Let me suggest that each institution with a teacher education program take steps quickly to assess the demand for teachers in the region it serves. It doesn't matter how simple or how sophisticated you wish to be in doing it, just do it. State legislators are deeply concerned about supply. They see themselves as voting for generous budgets for higher education, in part to educate teachers, and they want to be assured that institutions are both aware of and meeting these needs. I have asked the president of each of the 19 California State University campuses to take a simple survey of surrounding school district needs and to assess student interest in teacher education programs. I will not be able to argue for support for existing, much less increased, resources for teacher education unless I am able to assure policy leaders that we have assessed and are alert to the needs of the schools and that we intend to let students know about teacher demand overall as well as in what specific disciplines and regions of California.

As we face teacher shortages, two issues must concern us. The first is the problem generated by the shrinking of the potential pool of applicants for teaching careers. We are all aware that fewer students entering colleges and universities opted to enter teaching programs during the 1970's than in prior years. Many who despair of attracting teachers from the presently diminishing pool of students entering higher education suggest that we look instead to what is called the "reserve pool":

those persons who hold teaching credentials but who are not in the teaching force. Based on the experience with a similar call for help from the reserve pool of educated but not practicing nurses some years ago, I urge caution about such an approach. We learned then that persons who had left nursing totally were not attracted back; only those who had maintained some contact through part-time work returned on a full-time basis, and these numbers were not great. It is important also to remember that many women sought teaching credentials at a time when teaching was one of the few careers open to them. Now that opportunities for women have expanded, many will remain in the new fields they have chosen or, if re-entering the work force, will consider teaching simply as one of many options. We should recall, as well, that some persons earned credentials who do not really want to teach and/or who have not really succeeded at teaching. It would be a mistake to encourage such persons to remain in the profession or re-enter it.

In addition to what I will call the "attract the already credentialed" solution to the teacher shortage, is the "quick fix credential" solution. The assumption here seems to be that if you give someone something called a "credential" then they are a teacher. In California, the state licensing agency has issued something called an "emergency credential" for years. It is not really a "credential," that is, written evidence of qualifications, but a statement that in the absence of a qualified person, one is being allowed to work. I join with fully-educated, credentialed teachers who are calling for such work permits not to be labeled as "credentials" and that persons holding them not to be described as teachers.

In a more earnest approach to a quickly obtained credential, some states are trying to meet existing teacher shortages with school-site teacher preparation programs. These require completion of a baccalaureate degree and some form of internship at the school site. The one in California, created through legislation as the teacher trainee program, has not proved to be a vehicle for inducting large numbers of new persons into the teaching force quickly. Only a few of the over 1,000 public school districts in California have established trainee programs. The largest, established by the Los Angeles Board of Education, enrolled approximately 150 trainees last fall. Many of the trainees already have left the program to return to the

university for more formal preparation than the apprentice model provides.

The message these students send should be encouraging to teacher educators. For legislators, it will be less so. If alternative teacher education solutions turn out not to be so attractive, then even more pressure will be placed on universities to make teacher education programs more attractive to traditional college-age and early re-entry students. My own analysis suggests that an honest emphasis on recruiting young people to teaching may be the best course of all. Becoming a highly skilled professional in the arts, medicine, and the law usually requires early interest, early dedication, and long and varied experience that is acquired over the years. I believe it is the same in teaching.

If, as I suspect, we must count on the traditional college-age student to make up the future professional teacher force so desperately needed, then how can we recruit and retain the best of these in university-based teacher education? We must win back the confidence of the public, taxpayers and voters, students and parents, legislators and governors, indeed of colleagues within the university, in our selection and education of prospective teachers.

The erosion of confidence is evident in the growing trend toward testing as the criterion or as one of the criteria for teacher credentialing. Testing was once the avenue by which many states made the decision about who could teach. That was the case in the absence of regional universities which could provide full access to education. Since then, we have developed, usually at state expense, elaborate networks of college and university education. Now to say, as these tests do, that university faculty members cannot be trusted to assure that their graduates meet minimum standards for basic skills raises serious questions about the integrity of universities and their faculties, which may lead to seriously lessened public support for higher education. I would rather trust the judgment of my faculty colleagues who have observed students in the classroom as to their ability to teach, than the results obtained from any test. In addition, we are a multicultural nation. Teaching elementary school in Neodesha, Kansas or high school in Cleveland are two different cultural experiences. Our faculties are astute enough to prepare future teachers for these

varied climates; I have never seen an exam capable of that type of subtle but important differentiation.

The trend toward testing and the lack of confidence that has given rise to it demands that teacher educators pay attention to quality in the selection, education, and graduation of prospective teachers. Dedication to high standards, developed and *monitored internally* by all of us, is the chief means by which teacher education programs can win the public confidence that they so urgently need. Now, in the minds of many, quality is incompatible with quantity. Many fear that if we raise standards for admission and have rigorous programs, then the supply of teachers will slow to a trickle and the very legislators calling for strong teacher education will open as many back doors to the classroom as they can. I do not minimize the risks of inciting on quality in university recruitment but I believe the gains will outweigh whatever losses we may incur *if* we work to keep the public clearly and fully informed of our goals.

Let me suggest the steps we must take. First, we must raise entrance standards to teacher preparation both as a means of attracting able students as well as a means of improving our programs. The current reputation of teacher education programs on many campuses as the home of last resort for many students does little to attract the energetic and able. And it does little to win the respect of arts and science faculty for teacher education programs. Standards for admission must begin, but not end, with demonstration of success in academic courses. In the California State University, our Board will soon act on a proposal requiring that all candidates for admission to teacher education on CSU campuses be from the upper one-half of their high school class as measured by grade-point average. Surely, a prospective teacher must possess knowledge in general and in depth that is above average. But we all know that the successful mastery of academic subjects alone does not mean success as a teacher. I do not think the converse is true, however. And any students who affirm their desire to teach children, should be challenged to answer, "teach *what* to them?"

The second step is to consider not just motivation but aptitude to teach those subjects mastered. Formal measures of such skills are primitive and so, for the present, I urge a suc-

cessful and early completion of supervised experience in a classroom setting for each applicant. Faculty will have to make difficult judgments about potential for success in the classroom but, in the absence of more sophisticated written evaluations, these are best made in observation of actual classroom behavior. Third, I urge a formal, structured interview whereby students demonstrate their interests and abilities in order to justify their pursuing a teacher preparation program. The interview should be thorough—evaluating skills in communication and the ability to handle a wide range of questions.

Finally, the academic department in the subject in which the student wishes to become prepared to teach must evaluate, either through observation or in an oral examination, the students' command of the subject as the foundation on which to build teaching skill. Such evaluation by the department in which the student has concentrated should be taken seriously by the department and the student. I view elementary education as a discrete area of concentration. Please note here praise for the field of elementary education and those of you who have specialized in that area and quietly and nobly imbued it with so much excellence over the years. Some two-thirds of our nation's teachers are in this category and the demand for new teachers in this area will continue. Great strides, in my opinion, have been made in the elementary school curricula for prospective teachers. In and of itself, that area now stands proudly as a major or clear area of specialization. I think our academic colleagues too often tend to overlook the very real sophistication gained in our elementary curricula in such areas as language skill development, bilingual education, teaching of reading and the psychosocial development of children.

High standards may attract able students to teacher education, but students will be retained only through vigorous, challenging programs. I would also submit that such careful scrutiny of teachers-in-preparation will have a powerful mentoring and retentive effect on students. Students who are placed in close contact with faculty succeed along to college degrees.

Practicing teachers who characterize their teacher education programs as easy undermine our credibility. We will have succeeded once our new teachers are returning to the

classroom to thank professors for making them work hard and see clearly the relationship between their success as teachers and the preparation they received on the campus.

I urge you to re-examine, as we are in the CSU, the content of your teacher preparation programs. Requiring lower-division prerequisites in the disciplines which are the basis on which the professional education curricula is built would enable you to focus on advanced knowledge and application in teacher preparation courses. Faced with a rigorous curriculum, we must acknowledge that all who show promise at entrance will not succeed, despite our best efforts. We must be willing to say that all who profess to want to teach may not be qualified to do so, and facilitate the entry of these students into fields more appropriate for their talents.

Once again, many school districts will be actively recruiting teachers. And their personnel people will be making judgments about which campuses to visit to hire teachers who have the greatest potential for success. Those campuses with strong, well-designed selection measures and rigorous, on-going evaluation procedures will see their efforts and their students rewarded with promising job opportunities.

Some say the program of rigorous selection and content I have described will all but eliminate minority students. We *must* be committed to having minorities represented in the teaching profession in the same proportion as they are represented in the population. This is a strong challenge in my state where 44% of the K–12 students come from ethnic minority backgrounds. In addition, we cannot be satisfied just with recruiting minority teachers; we must recruit fully prepared minority teachers. Nationwide, minority students are underrepresented in our colleges and universities—and the situation is worsening. While working campuswide to recruit more minority students into higher education, we must also focus specifically on teachers. A project underway at one CSU campus seeks to recruit minority students still in high school to teaching. We intend to follow with necessary support systems for students to enable them to qualify for admission to teacher education. There are other similar projects around the nation; we need more of them and more information about critical ingredients to their success.

So far I have explored actions teacher educators can them-

selves take to improve the quality of their programs. But much of their success will depend on the extent to which the education of teachers becomes the responsibility of the entire college or university. Although teacher educators can work actively to contribute to the development of such attitudes, governing boards, presidents and chief academic administrators must take the lead. They must use their positions not only to voice support for teacher education but also to provide the necessary resources for it. Most important of all, they must call on faculty outside formal teacher preparation programs to assume responsibility for teacher recruitment and preparation. Additionally, few faculty see the relationship between better prepared teachers and better prepared students in their classes—probably because of the long period of time required for changes in teachers' preparation to have an impact on incoming college students.

The undergraduate curriculum as a whole is overdue for careful scrutiny, and there are signs that it is coming. And while a general hue and cry for reform in liberal arts education may result in some improvements, the teacher preparation program should—through the recommendation process—force liberal arts departments to accept responsibility for a student's breadth of preparation in a subject(s) to be taught in the schools, and for their ability to synthesize and seek information. The experience of delving deeply into a discipline—understanding its methodology, its history—and practicing it will give students the confidence required both to teach a subject with enthusiasm and to expect their students to learn it.

The poor preparation of many elementary teachers in math and science has created a cycle of ignorance. Many teachers don't like to teach these subjects because they don't really understand them and don't feel competent to teach them. What is worse, they have low expectations for student learning. It is little wonder that interest in math and science drops off early for most youngsters, and few seek these courses in high school. Liberal arts and sciences departments must not only become more responsible for prospective teachers' command of the subject, but for at best encouraging, at worse not discouraging students from becoming teachers. Much of this has to do with many faculty members' desires to see students imitate their model, to become a university professor, or to go

onto law and medicine. It also has to do with the low esteem in which faculty overall tend to hold the teaching profession and their colleagues in teacher education. Our nation's colleges and universities went astray on this issue in teacher education more than any other in the last 20 years. We had it and lost it and we must get it back.

There *are* positive changes occurring in the profession. The beginning salary is increasing to $18,000 in most states, a fact of which few faculty are aware. Few are aware of increasing job opportunities in teaching. On-campus publicity is needed to help emphasize the new incentives for choosing teaching.

More interchange between teacher education programs and other schools or departments on campus would help erase the negative images of teacher preparation programs. The admissions process is one avenue to encourage departments to take a greater role in teacher preparation as is the supervision of student teachers, even if observation and critique from the subject field department faculty is less intensive than that from professional teacher education faculty. Faculty in fields related to professional education should be encouraged to teach courses in teacher preparation as a means of observing the high standards that prevail in instruction and as a means of drawing on special expertise. Collaborative research between professional teacher educators and faculty in other fields brings colleagues together in ways that contribute to mutual esteem. The existing openness of teacher education to internal and external review and accreditation by professional groups is another means to demonstrate that teacher preparation programs meet similar standards to those applied to other university programs.

We must become tiresomely repetitive in using every forum to make sure the efforts we are making to improve teacher education are well-documented and well-known. A few weeks ago, in testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee, a congressman asked me to respond to his comment that schools of education had failed. That common attitude and question gives us an opening and should never be used for apologies or defensiveness. Schools of education are turning around—but we have to make sure the public knows it. We must inform state leaders about our efforts to assure

quantity and quality and enlist their support. The word about the new spirit in teacher education isn't out yet to many. And we must look at others who would diffuse the effects of the quality of education we try to provide prospective teachers. We must work at all levels to change policies of school boards and school superintendents that discourage the best utilization of our teacher education graduates. The best educated beginning teachers cannot educate students adequately if they are assigned to teach in classes for which they were not prepared to teach. In 1981, 22% of all new teachers were not certified or eligible for certification in fields in which they were assigned to teach.

If the public understood better school-site assignment practices, I believe there would be less criticism of teacher preparation and more attention given to support for beginning teachers. Certainly they would see the folly of assigning new teachers to school settings in which even the experienced teachers feel inadequate, as is often the case in urban school districts. And I believe legislators would see the cost benefit of funding an "induction year." For the first year beginning teachers would receive a somewhat reduced teaching load that permits them to work with mentor-teacher/university supervisor teams to assist the new teachers in relating formal principles to classroom practice. Surely the data on attrition rates for new teachers—more than 50% nationwide according to some studies—should convince us to nurture more carefully those who choose to become teachers and demonstrate the necessary qualifications.

We ought also to call for evaluation of alternative models of teacher credentialing where they are used or to compare effectiveness with the more traditional ones. And we should urge study of the performance of the noncredentialed personnel in the classroom. Such alternative models are curiously free of accountability while university programs are subject to endless review and regulation.

There is, I am sure, more we could do to help the public understand the complexity of preparing successful teachers. But most important, we must convince them by our own willingness to face squarely the challenges of the task and to evaluate our programs openly and honestly so that we can be trusted with the task. Only in this way can teacher educators

and the university grasp again our responsibility for determining the most effective preparation for teachers. Demographic changes have given us the opportunity to create a new generation of teachers. Let us delight in this change and make history in the grand strides we take over the next few years in improving the quality of preparation, and in increasing the quantity of persons who engage in it. I believe that not only is teaching a profession, it is paramount above the others, a "calling" as well. Let us go forth *with delight* to achieve what teaching deserves.

IV

LEAD ME AND LEAVE ME ALONE

Daniel E. Griffiths

Whenever I am asked to speak on a topic such as leadership I am reminded of what Walter Meany used to say of economists, "Economics," he said, "is the only profession in which one can rise to eminence without ever being right" (Hershey, 1984). But then an economist friend of mine enjoyed observing, "The reason why we have meteorologists is to make economists look good." The study of leadership is of the same dismal quality as is that of economics and meteorology. It has been almost 40 years since Gibb (1948) and more than 30 years since Stogdill (1954) concluded there are no generic personal traits associated with leadership. This, of course, has not stopped the well known and recurring studies of college sophomores in "leaderless" groups, or the training at Bethel where executives are stripped of their rank and participate in structureless situations. Nor has it stopped writers on the subject from prescribing personal attributes: the most picturesque being Clark Kerr's admonition that college presidents should have "nerves like sewer pipes" (Sharp, 1984).

The *coup de grace* to leadership studies appeared in 1978 in a small volume entitled, curiously enough, *Leadership* (McCall & Lombardo, 1978). The study of leadership was characterized as follows:

1. The number of unintegrated models, theories, prescriptions, and conceptual schemes of leadership is mind-boggling;

2. Much of the literature is fragmentary, trivial, unrealistic, or dull; and,

3. The research results are characterized by Type III errors (solving the wrong problem precisely) and by contradictions.

Even so, Miskel (1983) concluded after reviewing the literature five years later that some rather obvious characteristics might be associated with leadership such as: intelligence, self-confidence, energy level, dominance, cooperativeness and sociability, and knowing what you are doing. Aside from the fact that some of these are contradictory, we all know leaders who lack some of these characteristics.

Therefore, just as economists can be wrong and famous, and weathermen make economists look good, researchers on leadership can tell us little about how to be leaders. So I will not review the literature or engage in other scholarly activities, but rather will discuss leadership in colleges and universities in a more down-to-earth fashion. I will also restrict myself to leadership in a school, college, or department of education.

Leadership and administration are not synonymous, although it would be nice if they were. Administration is a much broader term and encompasses much more than leadership. It is possible to be an acceptable administrator, and never lead. God knows lots of administrators are like this.

There are innumerable definitions of leadership, but let us use a simple one. Clark Kerr (Jacobson, 1984) defines presidential leadership as the ability to set new goals for an institution and bring about "some change of direction or some improvement in performance" (p. 27). This definition holds for deans and chairs as much as for presidents. We can say that you lead when you make a change, when you decide that something different must be done and then go about doing it. At Bowling Green State University, the Board of Trustees (at the urging of the president, I presume) has changed the goal of the university from a service institution to a research university. The dean is attempting to move the College of Education in this new direction. At the State University of New York at Albany the dean is under mandate to improve the quality of the School of Education. At the University of Kansas the dean has led the faculty to adopt a new five-year teacher education program. These are all examples of leadership or attempted leadership. When I talk about leadership, this is what I mean.

Frankly, these examples don't seem all that great. What's the big deal? What's all the fuss about? Why isn't every dean a leader? Why isn't every chair a Moses leading the faculty out of the wilderness? The answer to these questions is a large part of the story.

In order to lead, you must change people. In all of the examples I used, some people (trustees, presidents, deans) are telling other people (professors and deans) that what they have been doing is wrong: they have been giving service, not doing research; their teaching and research is not good enough, its got to get better; the teacher education program they had is not appropriate nor adequate for the times, they must drop their old ways and develop new ones. When you attempt to lead in higher education you are telling people they must change. Since we see so few examples of leadership in America's colleges and universities what makes it so difficult to lead?

Leadership takes place in a society and in a setting within a society. The nature of the society and the institution are powerful forces which determine the kind of leadership that can be effective. What is the nature of the social scene, the university, and the people in the university?

There have been many analyses of the modern social scene. Our society today is characterized by a collapse of consensus (Griffiths, 1975). We as a nation do not agree on basic values and goals, in fact, we have invented the term "pluralism" to cover up our lack of agreement on basic values. The notion of America as a melting pot has been replaced by the actuality of ethnic identification as the basic reference group for most Americans. Senator Daniel Moynihan noted with amazement that in a recent poll, only 6% of the population identified themselves as Americans. There are at least 200 crusading minorities in the country centering on such diverse topics as abortion, arms control, sexual freedom, environmental pollution, and women's rights. And there is the rediscovery of religion, often of a mystical character, that leads patrons to singular, private views. Perhaps at the base of these inward-seeking trends are what futurologists call increasingly sensate cultures expressing protest or revolt, and described by such terms as overripe, extreme, sensation-seeking, violently novel, exhibitionistic, and nihilistic (Kahn & Weiner, 1967). Also contributing to the collapse of consensus in the United States is

the explosion of many assumptions which were once firmly believed by the people. Among these is the assumption that lower economic groups in the country can look forward with a degree of certainty to a better life for their children. A great many people have seemingly adopted views that fit the philosophy of phenomenology, which holds that all individuals perceive, experience, and, indeed, create their own reality. They believe there are no objective criteria. Each person is the center of the universe. There are no organizational goals nor should there be; individuals within the organization have goals and these differ person-by-person. What is created, then, are organizations populated by people who do not acknowledge institutional goals, living only for their personal aims and desires. We have the culture of self.

The 1984 presidential election highlighted other kinds of divisiveness in the United States. It was thought by many that the country was ready to coalesce on many issues, but as James Reston (1984) stated, "Instead it has put the factions, the races and the regions against one another and ignored the fundamental problem of correcting the structural flaws in our political system" (p. A-27).

Political parties have been weakened through splintering and the multiplication of special interest groups so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to govern. This gives rise to a view best expressed by former Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr. of California, who remarked during his gubernatorial campaign, "I take a somewhat jaundiced view of the ability of government to perform" ("Campaign '74," 1974), whereupon he was overwhelmingly elected.

There is, of course, a certain sense of irrationality about all of this as illustrated by the last presidential election. Ronald Reagan ran against "big government" which he had made bigger spending more money than any other president in history, yet he won in a landslide.

All of these factors contribute to a society which emphasizes increasingly the individual and personal goals, desires, and expectations. I think the present was summarized best by Lord Morris of Grasmere in a speech at the 1974 International Intervisitation Programme. He typified the heart of the present social scene in a very few words:

> The people do not want to be governed, and clearly they do not believe there is any real and final necessity to be governed. Their political posture is no longer very far removed from that of the hippies, and the signs are that it is getting not further away but nearer to it. (Morris, 1975)

These conditions have affected all organizations, not just the universities. Listen to what Douglas Soutar (1982) has said of the people in modern corporations:

> The employee mix of the 80s, of course, looks quite different to those of us who have survived recent decades of corporate employment. We now face an "individualized" generation which has "rights," and believes fully in its entitlement to a host of the refinements of life which older employees only aspired to. The new generation is, on the whole, better educated, more inquiring, and not only expects but usually demands greater participation in conduct of the enterprise. (pp. 2, 3)

The university faculty is, of course, the ultimate example of how one institution reflects the influence of the "new employees." Let us now look at the university. I think that Lewis Thomas (1983), formerly dean of two medical schools and an internationally known researcher, is one of the few to have the courage to tell it as it is. In a paper entitled "The Governance of the University," he asks and then answers his own questions: "How should a university be run? Who is really in charge, holding the power? The proper answer is, of course, nobody" (Thomas, 1983). Thomas (1983) modifies this only slightly when he adds, "In normal times, with institutions that are relatively stable in their endowments and incomes, nobody is really in charge" (pp. 68–69). He continues:

> A university, as has been said so many times that there is risk of losing the meaning, is a community of scholars. When its affairs are going well, when its students are acquiring some comprehension of the culture, and its faculty are contributing new knowledge to their special fields, and when visiting scholars are streaming in and out of its gates, it runs itself, rather like a large organism. The function of administration is solely to see that funds are adequate for its purposes and not overspent, that the air is right, that the grounds are tidy—and then stay out of the way. (p. 169)

While well expressed, and only slightly exaggerated, the same idea has been voiced by others. John Rehfuss (1984), writing in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, had this to say:

> University presidents have both a difficult and thankless job. They are charged by the trustees to head a balky organization and to correct all previous wrongs. They face a faculty convinced that a president should provide academic leadership (whatever that is) and yet leave well enough alone (not get in the way of the faculty). (p. 64)

(It is from this verse that I have taken my text.)

Clark Kerr (1984) interviewed some 400 presidents and he reports that many had complained that "nobody wants" them to provide leadership. The result is that, instead of becoming aggressive and creative, they are just sitting it out.

The indifference to administrators of professors and even deans is rather remarkable. Al Bowker, Chancellor of the Berkeley campus, tells the story of the dean of Arts and Science who refused to return his telephone calls. Explained Bowker, "He didn't see why he should." Shortly after I retired from the deanship at New York University I met one of the retired deans of the Law School, still active as a professor. When I told him I was Special Assistant to the Chancellor, he asked, "Who is the Chancellor?"

Now what are the basic causes of this state of affairs? A major reason is the nature of the professoriate. The essential work of the professor: teaching and research, is highly personal and solitary. The professor is a monarch in the classroom, protected by academic freedom and somewhat insulated from criticism. While some research is done in teams it is still largely an amalgam of individual efforts. People who work alone generally like it and resist efforts to be forced into cooperative efforts, as witnessed by faculty committees. They are also specialists, and, in general, they know more about what they are doing than does the dean or president. Further, in most universities virtually all of the vital processes are under faculty control: the curriculum; selection of faculty, chairs and sometimes deans; promotion; appointment to tenure; often salaries of professors; and academic governance. The major goal of faculty governance, it would seem, is to render administration impotent—and generally it is successful. University faculties have systematically made it impossible (or nearly so) for deans and presidents to lead or to administer, and the better the university, it seems, the less it is led. Because the faculty

is in such control of vital processes the Supreme Court ruled in the Yeshiva case that faculty are managers. The major point in the suit was the faculty's right to unionize and the Court ruled that they could not. A similar ruling by the National Labor Relations Board affected the faculty at Boston University. The significant point for us in considering how to lead is that faculties are not to be thought of as employees, but as managers, equals, if you will, with deans. Leading equals is quite different from leading subordinates. There are other obstacles to leadership:

1. The short academic year. The academic year is at most 30 weeks long with at least four weeks consumed by registration and examinations. But that's not all, the work week is very short to the extreme of a City University of New York professor who recently won a lawsuit against the IRS claiming a deduction for an office in his home on the grounds that he spent 80% of his working time in it! As the use of personal computers becomes more widespread so that professors can access libraries and other data bases in their own homes, they will spend less and less time at the university. The day of the electronic faculty meeting may be upon us. Leading an absentee faculty is even more difficult than leading one in residence.

2. Outside events can be so powerful as to completely negate leadership acts. I recall setting up a master of arts in teaching degree program in the mid 1960's. I touched all bases: the faculty approved; a competent professor accepted the chair's post; the New York City school superintendent, because there was a teacher shortage, promised us 100 paid internships; and good students enrolled. Then the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the Board of Education negotiated a great contract and the teacher shortage disappeared. So did the 100 paid internships, as well as the master of arts in teaching program. It is not possible to over-emphasize the influence of factors over which the leader has no control.

3. The practice of departments electing what are kindly called "rotating" chairs guarantees that nothing good will happen in departments. This is the major reason for the decline of strong departments. The weakest link in the structure of a university school is the department chair, and, until the practice of electing rotating chairs is stopped it will continue to be.

Chairs should be appointed by the dean to serve at the dean's pleasure.

4. The method used currently to select presidents, deans, chairs, and professors mitigates against strong leadership. Lombardo (McCall & Lombardo, 1984) points out:

> The selection process favors those that 'fit'. We tend to like and choose to associate with those we perceive as similar to ourselves. If the selection process reduces possible variations in behavior or style, the observed variation in leadership behavior will also be limited. This, in turn, limits the chance of observing much leadership effect. (p. 35)

5. The practice of having terms of two, three, four, or five years for administrators is debilitating. Any faculty can sit on its hands for five years. Even in universities where terms are not the mode, some deans will announce that they will serve for only five years. Any dean who does this is either a damned fool or doesn't intend to change anything.

6. The effect of the extreme democracy which exists on most campuses gives legitimacy to what Munitz, former chancellor at the University of Houston, has to say (A dialogue, 1984) about the ultimate paradox of university governance:

> Everyone in higher education—faculty members, students, trustees, alumni, citizens of the community—feels that he or she has the right and the duty to participate in virtually every decision. Academic administrators are always overwhelmed by the constant expectations of ultimate democracy as faculties seek the highest commodity: flexibility and innovation. The irony, of course, is that when everyone ponders every decision, flexibility and innovation falter. (pp. 28, 29)

Leadership

We come now to the difficult part of the paper. I am now stuck with trying to answer two questions: How can you be a leader when no one wants you to lead? How can you be a leader in a situation rigged to keep you from leading?

I have "set the scene" for leadership rather carefully because leadership is not universal; it is highly particularistic. Leading an army is, as Dwight Eisenhower discovered, far different than leading a country. A brilliant military commander became a mediocre president. Even among universities there are great differences. Leading the Harvard faculty poses prob-

lems considerably different than leading the Mankato faculty. My approach is to first discuss strategy and secondly, tactics.

Strategy

The leader's first step is to develop a strategy which takes into account the factors I have presented. Once you have analyzed the situation, you need to have your own leadership goals clearly in mind. Leadership goals for deans often come from the president, while in professional schools they might also come from accrediting agencies, state education departments, or professional boards. The leadership goals can come from you personally or can evolve out of faculty "need-census" meetings. I don't really believe that they emerge full-blown from faculty groups. When leadership goals come from "above" or "outside" (trustees, president, accrediting agencies, state education departments), they are generally opposed by the faculty. This often puts the dean into a conflict position, a position which must be avoided at all costs. Some ways of doing this are suggested under the heading of tactics.

Leadership goals regardless of their source should answer the questions: Where do you want to take the school, college, or department? What end product do you visualize? What is it you want to change? How are you going to change it?

Be modest. As you go about leading the school, set modest aspirations and goals. D. Dill (1984) cites March, who argues that great leadership is unlikely in organizations of higher education. He concludes that this is because "Academic administration is an act of small adjustments in which larger and, by inference, slow-moving forces determine the evolution of events" (March, 1980, cited in D. Dill, 1984, p. 93). Much of what I have talked or will talk about: the short academic year, the independence of the professors, negotiation as a way of life, extreme democratization, etc. is summed up in March's admonition. So, be modest with your strategy and patient with your tactics.

Culture

I think the most significant single element in leadership is the climate or culture of the institution. The organizational science literature has currently embraced the concept of culture

to the point that some contend the culture is the organization (Smircich, 1983). When culture is considered in this way organizations are thought of "as expressive forms, manifestations of human consciousness" (Smircich, 1983, p. 377). It means we must pay attention to "the subjective, interpretive aspects of organizational life" (Smircich, 1983, p. 355). The kind of culture most responsive to leadership would appear to be one in which faculty and staff feel good about themselves, feel secure to a degree, feel that they will be supported if they undertake acts of leadership, and feel they will be rewarded for their efforts. The emphasis is on "feel," not "think," or "know." This takes us into the land of perception, how the faculty perceives its leadership. In order to bring about change, it seems to me the first job of the dean or chairs is to build a culture that is receptive to change.

While the dean is highly essential to the kind of culture which emerges, the faculty may be even more important. Faculties may differ considerably from one another. Several efforts to categorize professors have been attempted and are quite revealing (Clark, 1962; Gouldner, 1957, 1958; Griffiths, 1964b). It would seem that a faculty of "locals," that is, professors who stay home and "tend the store," will have a culture that varies tremendously from a faculty of "entrepreneurs," who use their faculty status to develop contacts for consulting or setting up their own companies. One difference is that the locals will be on the job, while the entrepreneurs will rarely be. The locals will have more clout in determining what the faculty will eventually accept as a program, while the entrepreneurs really won't care.

In order to determine the nature of the climate, therefore, it is necessary to understand the faculty: are they locals or cosmopolitans (are they more loyal to the school or to their discipline); are they conductors or entrepreneurs? Their orientation will be a major factor in the culture of the school and will govern the kind of leadership that will be effective.

What kind of a culture would be conducive to effective leadership? Clark, Lotto, and Astuto (1984) compared the literature of the "instructionally effective schools" movement with the literature of the "school improvement" movement and came up with a list of characteristics of good schools much in the mode of the Peters and Waterman (1982) characteristics of

excellent companies. I have, in turn, modified the Clark, Lotto, and Astuto (1984) description to project a description of a university school in which a culture with leadership potential includes:

1. *Commitment.* The faculty of a good school know what they are doing: they project a raison d'etre.

2. *Expectations.* Good university schools are populated by confident people each of whom expects all of the others (professors, students, chairs, dean, and president) to perform at a consistently high level of quality.

3. *Action.* People in good university schools do things; they don't just talk about them.

4. *Leadership.* While the president and deans are effective leaders, they create situations wherein *others can also lead. Leadership emerges in all segments of the school.*

5. *Focus.* Good schools tend to their business which is doing research, teaching students, and giving service to the public. Good faculties know what they are supposed to do, and they do it.

6. *Climate.* Good schools are good places to live and work for everyone: professors, students, administrators, and nonprofessionals.

7. *Slack.* Good schools have a reasonable level of human and material resources. This enables the staff to be efficient, but in a relaxed manner.

If a culture of this sort, or any other, is what you want to build how do you proceed? What are the leadership mechanics?

The leader. Although there is little evidence in the literature of specific personal traits or behaviors associated with leadership, it seems to me that there are things the dean who wants to lead can do. As Pfeffer (1978) has said, "The leader is, in part, an actor" (p. 30). This means the leader tries to epitomize through every means possible the goals to be achieved. The dean should "act" in such a way as to help build the kind of culture being sought. It seems to me to be difficult to urge professors to be productive scholars if the dean never publishes. As much as possible the dean should act to advance leadership goals. This extends to the dean's office. One of my first actions upon becoming dean was to refurnish the office to reflect me and my interests. Further, I pushed the desk against the wall and arranged chairs so I sat close to the people who

came to the office. Most deans seem to barricade themselves behind a large desk and keep visitors at bay.

Long tenure. If you want to lead, that is change and improve your school, make up your mind to stay in the job for a long time and let everyone know it. Cyphert and Zimpher (Griffiths & McCarty, 1980) seem to tell us that education deans hold their office for eight years. I think it might well be somewhat less, especially in the larger and more prestigious institutions. That is too short. My own feeling is that 10 years is a minimum time span. This is partially because of the nature of the university community, but also because you cannot rush major changes. Patience is a virtue to the leader. The dean of the College of Business and Public Administration at New York University is retiring after 20 years of leadership. He was appointed dean when the college was known as the School of Commerce and it was a disaster of gigantic proportions. It was also a time when schools of business were under attack nationally and undergraduate schools of business were being advised to close. Today, the College of Business and Public Administration is rated the best of its type in the country. I am not saying this happened because the dean stayed for 20 years, but I am saying that if he had stayed for 5 years the school would not be where it is today.

Meetings. Over 30 years ago Homans (1950) wrote a fine book called *The Human Group.* One of his propositions was: "The more frequently persons interact with one another, the more alike in some respects both their activities and their sentiments tend to become" (p. 120). What this means to the leader is that there must be many occasions where faculty can interact in ways that will tend to develop similar "favorable" sentiments. There should be regularly scheduled, well-planned faculty meetings, preferably one a month. Faculty meetings should be planned around matters of faculty business, but the dean should have a definite leadership role in each meeting. Additional meetings could be devoted to special purposes such as an annual state-of-the-school speech by the dean. The dean's speeches and comments should explicate the overall plan to achieve leadership goals. The dean should publicly recognize professors who are doing things in line with goals. Social events, such as a cocktail party to open the school year, or a Christmas party are also occasions to build similar

sentiments. I think that deans on "dry" campuses are at a distinct disadvantage in building a congenial faculty. I also think the "free lunch" theory of leadership has merit, that is, providing lunch to small groups of professors, students, and staff to discuss problems and aspirations.

I think that faculty need "*consensus* meetings," that is, meetings in which an effort is made to come to some common understandings. The purpose would be to attain a degree of consensus on the goals the leader is trying to achieve. These meetings might well be based on a "white paper" which lays out the goals, their rationale, and how the goals are to be achieved. The paper should be written by, or under the direct supervision of the dean with the advice of a faculty committee. The composition of the committee should be the result of very careful thought. It should, of course, be representative of the various elements of the school, but the representatives should also be the faculty influentials. The committee should be chaired by the dean.

Orientation for new faculty. There should be a program for the orientation of new faculty members. I recommend a program which runs through the first year—having, say, four meetings. The dean should speak at the first meeting and again this is the time to build the climate to enhance the leadership goals. The dean should point out how the reward system supplements the goals. It should be emphasized that the new professors have been selected and appointed in line with leadership goals and they will be promoted, given tenure, and salary increases in the same way. The best single way to improve the quality of a faculty is to make certain that the leadership goals and the reward system are in synchrony. If one of the goals is to improve research production of the faculty, the dean should see to it that the successful researchers are promoted, given tenure, and receive the largest salary increments. You can't talk research and at the same reward the hustlers and entrepreneurs.

Publications. Publications can help to create a school culture and also project that culture to the world. The *Harvard Educational Review,* the *Teachers College Record,* and *The School Review* are all examples of journals that project scholarly images of Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago respectively. I started the *New York University Education Quarterly* with the

same goal in mind and believe it was successful. Prior to the first issue I tried hard to impress on our editor (a fine one) that I never wanted to see a typo or careless error. I wanted an image of excellence projected in every regard. The first issue carried the only (to my recollection) error in 14 years of publication. Xerox was spelled with a "Z"! A good journal offers the dean an opportunity for leadership at the national and international levels in addition to local, either through annual or biannual articles or through the themes which the journal stresses.

"*Showing the flag.*" Deans are called upon constantly to welcome groups to the campus, open meetings, give awards, and so on. These should all be looked upon as occasions for leadership—for culture shaping. I strongly recommend that deans have someone to help with writing the speeches—this is invaluable. Each event should be the occasion for putting forth the leadership goals of the dean.

Aspects and Tactics of Leadership

David Dill (1984) has concluded that the following epitomizes academic administration and leadership in higher education:

> First, it is apparent that informal influence, negotiations, and networks of contacts are important aspects of academic administration. Second, the results of research on information-related behavior, decision-making, and resource allocation provide some indication that academic management is still highly intuitive, tends to avoid the use of quantitative data or available management technology, and is subject to the political influence of powerful groups and interests. Third, the traditions, beliefs, and values of individuals, disciplines, and institutions appear to play a more substantial role than is generally acknowledged in the extant prescriptive literature on management. In short, the garbage can model of decision-making and the institutional context of organized anarchy as articulated by March and his colleagues receives much support from the available literature on administrative behavior. (p. 92)

There are certain basics a dean or president must have in order to lead. I have alluded to them in several places in this paper. Now I will be specific.

Money. A dean must have discretionary funds. Many universities have a line for contingencies. That is one source. Another is the alumni; still another is business and industry, or

friends of the college. Many universities allocate a portion of overhead on grants to the deans of the several colleges. These funds can be used as incentives to get faculty members to do things in line with leadership goals. Many universities, for instance, have a policy of paying travel expenses to national meetings only if the professor is on the program. As Program Chair of AERA Division A I have evidence that this is a powerful incentive!

Support. It is, to my mind, axiomatic that the dean cannot lead if the president does not support the leadership goals and acts. A vacillating or negative president can cut an enterprising dean off at the knees.

Informal influence. Informal influence (or persuasion) is an important tactic of leadership. Deans and presidents have resources to acquire information and this can be used to make a case and convince the faculty that the curriculum, for instance, should be changed. Books can be purchased and distributed, experts can be brought on campus, seminars and meetings can be structured to convince the faculty of the need for a change. Sometimes it works; often it doesn't. And sometimes it works in an opposite direction. I recall that shortly after World War II, President Everett Case of Colgate University proposed that the faculty adopt a classical curriculum. The faculty responded with a 13-course core program based upon a thoroughly modern view of the world! There was a change, but it was quite the opposite of what the president wanted.

Reorganization. Many deans and presidents advocate and use reorganization as a leadership tool. There are times when it is a useful tactic. The combining of a lot of small units into a larger one can, for instance, result in more efficient use of resources. But, in general, I think the use of reorganization is over valued. More often than not reorganization is about as effective a leadership tactic as rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic as it entered the ice fields.

Controlling the environment. It is often contended that the most powerful forces for change are from outside the organization (Griffiths, 1964a). The regulations of state education departments, Boards of Regents, accrediting agencies, and the prescriptions of national commissions are extremely influential in shaping academic programs. For many reasons this is especially true of teacher education. However, this could be

another mode of leadership for a dean. The dean who wishes to can either be a member of, or an advisor to such groups and influence the reports, recommendations, and regulations. Often it is easier for the dean to influence the faculty as a member of an outside commission than it is from inside the school.

Putting this kind of activity into a broader context, those who are studying top executives in all sorts of organizations, including education, say that top executives are not so much managers as they are politicians attempting to resolve conflicting demands on the organization. For them, as Kanter (1983) points out: "Management of critical boundary-spanning issues is the task of the top: developing strategies, tactics, and structural mechanisms for functioning and triumphing in a turbulent and highly politicized environment" (p. 49). This leads to top executives and, in my experience, deans having to spend more and more time outside their organizations developing relationships and alliances. In commenting about one group of chief executive officers (CEOs), Kanter (1983) writes: "In short, these CEOs were spending virtually no time inside their organizations; they were spending time allying themselves and bargaining outside" (p. 50). Top executives find themselves giving increasing numbers of speeches: Kanter (1983) notes that Thomas Murphy, Chairman of General Motors, gave over 90 speeches in one year. President Richard Cyert of Carnegie-Mellon University quipped, "Generally speaking, college presidents are generally speaking." The external environment has become so important to the internal organization that the job of the chief executive would be unrecognizable to deans of old.

Education deans exercised control over the external environment during the 1960s and 1970s when, in cooperation with the land grant and associated private deans, AACTE lobbied effectively for federal support of teacher education. That lobbying effort should be accelerated now.

Deans should also take control of their national accrediting agency. In virtually all of the other professions the accrediting agency is a powerful force for raising standards and improving quality. We do not have a strong, prestigious, independent, national accrediting agency whose stamp of approval is actively sought by all of the schools. Indeed, we are the only

profession in which the most prestigious schools are not accredited by this agency, a fact which the public does not know, nor is it concerned. This state of affairs has come about because of the way our accrediting agency is funded, because of the influence of special interest groups, and because of the centrality of process in the standards to the exclusion of substance and quality.

A powerful accrediting agency which sets standards for the quality of students, faculty, programs, facilities, and financial resources can be of tremendous help to a dean who wants to improve the school of education.

Negotiation. Probably the most useful tactic is that of negotiation. Virtually all problems involving faculty and administration are resolved through a process of negotiation. While it is, of course, used in all sorts of organizations, negotiation is more important in universities because of the nature of the professorship and the activities of so many special interest groups. William Dill (1980), former Dean of the Faculties of Business at New York University and now President of Babson Institute, has described the use of the Barnard-Simon model as applied to universities:

> They (Barnard and Simon) would see the college or university as, in fact, they saw even the more tightly structured, hierarchically defined institutions of business and government: as assemblages of constituencies, some like faculty inside the boundaries of the institutions and others like alumni or charitable foundations outside these boundaries, drawn by various kinds of inducements to affiliate with the organization. Deans, like presidents, help orchestrate the actions which attract the various constituents, hold them together, and draw from them contributions which in totality yield the output of services and products that characterize a university or school. (pp. 265–266)

Putting the matter more simply, the administrator must have inducements to generate contributions. If a dean wants a professor to head a project that will lead to institutional improvement, but entails more work for that person, he must have answers for the professor's question, "What's in it for me?" The dean must have some control over the reward system (promotion, tenure, salary increments) or must be able to offer released time or some other inducement. I lament the fact that many deans have no control over the reward system. I note with dismay the fact that the California State University

union has won control of salary distributions (McCurdy, 1984). In addition, the dean needs to know what the professor wants; sometimes it's merely recognition and that becomes the inducement.

Conclusion

Leadership in a university is difficult, time-consuming, frustrating, and thankless. It takes places in a society and setting which puts the individual ahead of the organization and in an environment in which the leader has been deprived of most of the usual leadership tools. To be at all successful, the leader must first build a culture in which leadership will be viable. The culture should be such that the individual's needs can be met while the leader's aspirations for the organization are being achieved. This desired confluence demands that the reward system of the school and the leader's goals be synchronized. It also means that structural obstacles to leadership (such as the "rotating chair") should be eliminated. And finally, leadership in a university setting must be thought of as releasing and directing the creativity of people who are independent, who control the vital processes of the school, and who are largely self-directed. This challenges even the best of us to do even better.

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V

POLICY ISSUES IN TEACHER EDUCATION

David C. Smith

We find ourselves in a difficult time. We are under fire from a variety of sources, some powerful and, unfortunately, often more powerful than knowledgeable with respect to matters relating to teacher education. But powerful they remain. A period of rapid change with crosscurrents of expectations is upon us. I, for one, do not expect that the force of the currents will diminish in the near future—and many of us wonder why? Why the concern? Why the criticism? Why such apparent animosity? How much of it is deserved, in whole or in part?

Policy makers and those who influence them have raised the most fundamental of questions. Do we need teacher education? Do we need teacher certification? Do we need schools, colleges, and departments of education (SCDEs)? It would be well for all of us to reflect seriously on these issues. Certainly it is apparent that policy makers in some states have considered and addressed some of these questions. We should all recognize what Harry Judge made painfully explicit in his book, *American Graduate Schools of Education, A View from Abroad,* is that a number of factors—a period of sequential and severe budget cuts, most of a decade with an unfavorable job market, an anticipated shortage of teachers, and growing mandates for program improvement—enumerate only a portion of the set of the complex issues with which we must deal.

Why is education so visible and the object of so much attention today? It probably always has been, but not to this degree. Education is now the largest public sector activity in this nation. It represents a major portion of the budgets of the

states. It involves an extraordinarily large number of people. And, in the minds of many, the quality of our education is essential to our technological and economic success among the community of nations. The teacher work-force constitutes the largest group of public workers in the United States. We are dealing with a mass profession, of larger proportions than many policy makers understand. Our size alone contributes to the scope and magnitude of the problems we face.

But I do not think that those are the reasons why education has captured so much attention and is viewed with so much emotion. I think a more important factor is the degree to which education effects, if not determines, the very future of the individual. Without a good high school education and probably without a college degree, the quality of life of an individual and his/her lifetime earnings as well, are seriously in jeopardy. Education has become so important as to become a matter essential to individual economic and social survival. In short, the stakes involved in the education of each person are incredibly high and the consequences nearly irreversible.

Teachers are generally, and correctly, seen as central to the process of education. Consequently, the preparation of teachers assumes inordinate importance. Make no mistake, in the mind of the public it is teacher education that is important, not SCDEs.

We have a responsibility to deal in a straightforward fashion with the recommendations contained in the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Teacher Education (NCETE). We should expect that our sights—those of our profession—are set higher than the sights of those outside the profession. We must recognize the significance of the composition of the commission and the derivation of their recommendations and must deal constructively, promptly, and effectively with the issues which they have raised. To do less is to demonstrate that we are unwilling or unable to cope with the major issues surrounding the preparation of teachers in this nation.

We have a responsibility to deal conscientiously with developing new and stronger criteria for accreditation by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). We must put the interests of the public above our institutional and professional self interests. We need to work

closely with NCATE constituencies and support the Chief State School Officers (CSSOs) in their concern for and involvement in accreditation in education.

I feel obligated to call attention to what we know and should be obvious to the public, but apparently is not. We deserve criticism for not doing all that we could to prepare well-qualified individuals for careers in teaching. Much of that concern has been directed toward the admission of low-ability students and the lack of subject matter mastery on the part of prospective teachers.

Much of the criticism has been misdirected. To those at all knowledgeable of matters in higher education, it is obvious that colleges of education cannot admit students who do not meet the admission requirements of the parent university or college. Meeting the requirements for admission to the institution is a prerequisite to being admitted to any program within the institution. In addition, admission requirements to programs in education can be, and often are, higher than the requirements for admission to the institution, but they cannot be lower. The hard fact of life which policy makers might wish to avoid is that institutions, not SCDEs, may be the point at which the quality of students and the acquisition of subject matter should be assessed.

Let us look carefully at the role played by colleges of liberal arts and sciences in teacher preparation. Universities also prepare lawyers, doctors, businessmen, engineers, journalists, and others. A university prepares teachers and other educators in the same sense that it prepares members of other professions. The background and prerequisite information is taught, appropriately, in the liberal arts and sciences as well as related fields. But that does not make the colleges of liberal arts and sciences an integral part of the professional schools on our campuses.

We have been guilty of soft thinking. We are a professional school in the same sense as are other schools. Would other professional schools on our campuses give other colleges, such as the colleges of liberal arts and sciences, the same influence as they expect to exert in schools, colleges, and departments of education? They would not and they should not. We should not either. We think of law school education as taking three years at the post-baccalaureate level and seven years in

all to complete. But in the education of teachers we think of the supporting elements of the program as part and parcel of the professional training program. Therefore, we inadvertently create the inaccurate impression that the professional component of teacher preparation is much more extensive than is, in fact, the case. We assume in part, therefore, the burden for which liberal arts and sciences colleges should be responsible.

Faculty in other colleges are fine, caring, and wise people. But they are simply not equipped to speak authoritatively to questions surrounding the professional component of teacher preparation programs (even if they think or assert that they are). The time has come to declare that only those knowledgeable in matters relating to teacher education can participate in academic decisions in our field of expertise.

Let us turn our attention to two issues which have important implications for public policy and which relate to the preparation of professional education personnel. The public perceptions on these issues have already influenced the formation of policy with respect to teacher preparation.

I recognize that political battles may not often be influenced, and certainly not won or lost, on the weight of the information available on the issue being debated. Even so, it would certainly seem that policy makers would wish to consider the best available information on the question if they were to best serve the people they represent. If public policy makers are badly advised, then it appears obvious that the likelihood for the creation of counterproductive public policy increases. That may very well be the case on the questions surrounding the quality of the individual preparing for a career in education and on the level of effectiveness of teacher preparation programs.

First, let us consider the level of ability of the students entering teacher education programs. Much has been written in the professional literature and appeared in the public press about the low and deteriorating level of students in teacher preparation programs. The data, as well as the conclusions drawn from those data, can be questioned. But this is not the time. Rather, let us examine some additional data and some other conclusions.

Consider a project description developed by two senior

economists from the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research entitled "The Future Labor Market for Teachers: Quantities, Aptitudes and Retention of Students Choosing Teaching Careers" (1984). Let me quote at length and you conclude whether this is consistent with what you have read in the professional and popular press:

> The relative test scores also indicate that although the pool of talent attracted to careers in elementary/secondary teaching has declined somewhat relative to other careers and occupations, the relative decline in verbal ability (2.0 percentage points) has been quite small. The slide in relative math aptitude has been somewhat greater (3.3 percentage points). (p. 7)

This represents a decline, to be sure, but one that could hardly be characterized as dramatic or of crisis proportions. The report goes on to say:

> Relative average SAT scores for MOST first choices of majors appear to be very stable. For example, relative SAT verbal and math scores for engineering students have fluctuated within a range of only 2 to 3 percentage points during this period even though the demand for engineering graduates and their starting salaries have increased almost 100% through this time. Furthermore, the relative test scores for English majors have been increasing even though the conventional wisdom is that job opportunities for liberal arts graduates are limited. Even the scores for education majors are remarkably stable given the surplus situation in that market for much of the decade. (p. 7)

Is that consistent with what you find in the popular press? I think not.

The Office of Planning and Budget in the Department of Education commissioned an interesting study, entitled *Tomorrow's Teachers* (1984), which was conducted by the Applied Systems Institute in Washington. This study differs from others in that potential teachers who do not major in education are included as well as those who do major in education. The data base on which the study was conducted is from the Cooperative Institutional Research program (CIRP). It is reported to be the largest continuing study of students in the American higher education system. The program was initiated in 1966 and consequently longitudinal data are available. Consider some of the conclusions drawn in the study and, again, see if they are consistent with what you have found in the professional and public press:

> Our results indicate that there has been a decline in the number of freshmen interested in education as a profession. The decline has been greater for minorities relative to non-minorities. Women continue to make up three-fourths of those who identify themselves as potential teachers in their freshmen year.
>
> On the issue of quality, our results are mixed. Teacher candidates have a reported average grade in high school that is only slightly lower than those of non-teachers. This relative difference has existed since 1978. And, for women, our findings do not indicate that fewer talented women are going into education. In 1983 as in 1974, women still make up the same proportion of the candidates and have approximately the same grade point average relative to non-teachers. (p. 29)

Let me make it clear that this study is referring to the proportions of people entering teaching and not the absolute numbers.

> However, the argument that increased opportunities for women and minorities has caused the more talented of that group to leave teaching is given partial support. The findings for minorities indicate that the gap between teacher candidates' high school grades and those of non-candidates has increased over the last 10 years. This fact, coupled with the lower probability of minorities going into education, suggests that there has been a loss of some of the more talented minorities from the education profession. (pp. 29–30)
>
> Our longitudinal analysis of the grades of teacher candidates and the rest of the undergraduates at the end of the sophomore and senior years confirms that there is little difference on the average between the college grades obtained by teacher candidates and non-candidates. In fact, by the time they are seniors the teacher candidates exceed the grade point average of non-candidates. (p. 30)
>
> The most reasonable assumption is that the sophomore grades reflect achievement based on a generally comparable curriculum that is required of all undergraduates. . . . In any case, the results do not indicate a meaningful difference in the academic achievement of potential teachers compared to non-teachers. (pp. 30–31)
>
> These study results suggest that the nation is not facing a major crisis of quality among potential teachers. The historical trends do not indicate that there is a significantly less able group planning to be educators today than was the case ten years ago. (p. 31)

Are these data consistent with the impression portrayed to the American public? Do the reports given the public suggest that there is even another side to the assertions that

SCDEs attract only the least capable of the college population? Frankly, I do not understand why teacher education receives such consistently negative press coverage when the available data do not consistently support that position.

A great deal has appeared in the professional and popular press relative to the poor quality and relative ineffectiveness of programs in professional education. Little of the argument has rested on the research available and the generalizations which might be drawn from a detailed analysis of the research on the effectiveness of teacher preparation programs. Carolyn Evertson, Willis Hawley, and Marilyn Zlotnik have recently prepared an extraordinarily interesting and useful report entitled *The Characteristics of Effective Teacher Preparation Programs: A Review of Research* for the Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation of the Department of Education. What is some of the important information contained in this study and what implications does it hold for teacher education? Consider some of the data reported in the paper:

> Though teacher preparation programs are often blamed for unleashing poorly educated instructors upon the nation's children, students preparing for a career in secondary education frequently are required to take less than one-fourth of their coursework in education and those preparing to be elementary teachers must take about one-third of their courses in education (Smith & Street, 1980). Moreover, it appears that universities spend only about two-thirds of what it costs to educate the average public school student to prepare the average teacher (Peaseau & Orr, 1980). (p. 4)
>
> We found thirteen studies that compared regularly and provisionally certified teachers. Four of these deal directly with student achievement (Hall, 1962; Denton & Lacina, 1984; Taylor, 1957; Shim, 1965). The others use various formal rating systems administered by principals and/or trained observers to assess teacher performance (Gray, 1962; LuPone, 1961; Gerlock, 1964; Copley, 1974; Bledsoe, Cox & Burnham, 1967; Beesy, 1960; Massey & Vineyard, 1958; and Cornett, 1984).
>
> In all but two of these studies, regularly certified teachers were ranked higher than were teachers with less formal training. (p. 5)
>
> The studies suggesting that teacher education improves teacher performance cover both elementary and secondary teachers. (p. 6)
>
> Teacher preparation programs have been so maligned in recent months that it may come as a surprise that the available evidence makes a case for the notion that elementary and sec-

> ondary students are better off being taught by teachers who are trained in teacher education programs, with all their weaknesses, than by teachers with little or more limited training. At other times, this conclusion might seem intuitively sensible. (p. 7–8)
>
> It seems clear that teachers who participated in preservice teacher preparation programs are more likely to be, or to be seen by supervisors or other trained observers, more effective than teachers who have little or no formal training before they teach. And, efforts to teach preservice teachers specific capabilities and knowledge invariably appear to be effective, at least in the short run. (pp. 9–10)

This is powerful data-based support for the utility and viability of professional programs for the preparation of teachers. But there is no reason to be sanguine or complacent. We face new times and greater expectations. We must be better in the future than we are in the present because the future will be more demanding and the stakes much higher than in the present.

This review also contains clear and important implications for the content in teacher preparation programs. Again, let me refer to the review of the research:

> Direct research on the consequences for teacher effectiveness of variations in teacher preparation programs is almost nonexistent. One might reasonably argue, therefore, that the core of what teachers should learn in the pre-entry preparation for their careers could be derived from what is known about effective teaching. This assumption seems to be gaining increasing currency among teacher educators (Smith, 1983; Egbert & Fenstermacher, 1984), though there are few programs of teacher preparation that are based primarily on research-based conclusions about teaching and learning (Egbert & Kluender, 1984) (p. 4)
>
> A wealth of research exists which shows that teachers have significant effects on their students' achievement in elementary and secondary classrooms (Brophy, 1979; Good, 1979; Medley, 1977). (p. 15)

It is clear that the base of support for substantive teacher preparation programs is much stronger than many of us have realized. Each of us has an obligation to inform the policy makers of our states of these data and their implications for program and policy development. We have a whole series of additional issues crying for action:

1. We need, now, to be concerned about the preparation of teachers for the 21st century. Starting in the year 1985, this year, the individuals becoming teachers and teaching 30 years will spend the majority of their careers teaching in the 21st century. Tomorrow is today; the seeds of the future are found in the present.

We cannot, at our peril, avoid the business of designing the next generation of teacher preparation programs. We simply cannot ignore calls for extended teacher preparation programs. They can be found in the *Phi Delta Kappan*, the *New York Times*, *Education Week*, *Newsweek*, the *Texas Journal for Teacher Education*, the *Forum*, and on national prime-time television (ABC). Governors, the National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education, and the state university and land grant college and affiliated private college associations' academic vice presidents have all called for the development of new programs. Ernest Boyer, in the report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching entitled *High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America* (1983), made a strong case for the development of the next generation of teacher preparation programs. But the strongest voices should not be coming from outside the profession. Our professional sights should be set higher than the sights of others.

Minimum five-year programs of formal preparation, including additional study in teaching fields and professional education, are necessary and justifiable. In the development of such programs it is essential that the professional component include detailed and extensive research findings on generic teaching effectiveness. It is essential that more sophisticated and effective clinical components for teacher preparation programs be developed which provide individuals with an opportunity to practice and refine their classroom skills.

A sixth-year of structured, supported induction combining the efforts of teacher educators and trained, experienced, and capable practitioners is highly desirable. It can contribute demonstrably to the improvement of the effectiveness of those beginning careers in education. But I am also persuaded that more of the same loosely structured, poorly supported clinical experience in preservice teacher preparation may well be counterproductive to the preparation of better teachers. And it

should, but it doesn't, go without saying that higher beginning salaries are essential. Not slightly higher beginning salaries, but substantially higher beginning salaries are critical if a larger number of more talented individuals are to be attracted to careers in teaching.

It should be obvious that better prepared, more highly qualified teachers should be able to command substantially higher salaries. It may be difficult for policy makers to justify higher, substantially higher, salaries under current conditions; but it would seem much easier for them to justify to their constituents higher salaries for a larger number of better trained, more capable teachers.

2. Another difficult and vitally important policy issue stands before us. The quality/quantity dilemma cannot and should not be ignored. How can we raise standards at a time of projected shortage? Yet, how can we retreat from efforts to increase quality?

In the final analysis, our highest commitment must be to increase the level of quality and effectiveness of those entering the education profession. We cannot sacrifice quality on the altar of demand. If we fall short in preparing a sufficient number of teachers to staff the schools of the nation, we will cause a hardship to some of our youth. If we prepare teachers of questionable quality, even in sufficient numbers, we will have betrayed all of the youth of our nation.

In part because of an anticipated shortage of teachers, we need to develop alternative delivery systems to serve mid-career entries to the profession. We need to pause and reflect that the shortage of teachers which is anticipated may well be different than that which we faced during the decade from the mid-50s through the mid-60s. It may be more regional in nature and will quite likely be of relatively short duration. It is also possible that teachers available in the reserve pool may in part meet a demand for additional teachers if teaching as a career can be made more attractive.

At the same time, measures designed and implemented to assure quality in the teaching force must be maintained. We need to search for ways to provide mid-career individuals with alternative or accelerated means by which they can acquire the same set of skills as do others who complete quality prep-

aration programs. But we cannot support short-cut, low-quality programs.

Supply and demand issues continue to plague us. Considerable information is available but, in some circles, there is little confidence in that information. And there are questions to which there are no easy answers:

1. How many people prepared during years of "overproduction" can now be attracted to the profession?
2. How many liberal arts graduates can be prepared through short-term intensive preservice preparation programs?
3. How many individuals are willing to be relocated from areas of oversupply to areas of shortage?
4. To what degree are deficit prepared individuals teaching, i.e., those with emergency, temporary or substitute certificates?
5. How many teachers are teaching classes "out-of-field"?
6. To what degree is there variance in the degree of shortage by subject field and level?

There are other questions as well. Clearly we need more and better data for long-range and even short-range planning.

A fourth major, urgent, complex, and sensitive policy issue requires attention. I refer to the equity-excellence issue. We are in desperate need of talented minority teachers.

We have apparently lost much of our ability to attract as high a quality and as large a number of minority individuals to teaching as in the past. The current minority work force in teaching totals 12.5%, while minorities constitute 17% of the total population and 27.0% of the school-age population. It is further projected that the percentage of minority teachers in the workforce will drop to 5% during the very time that the percentage of minority school-age youth will increase. It is important that all youth, including non-minority youth, have the benefit of positive minority role models in classrooms. At the present time, only a sharply reduced percentage of minority college students are enrolled in teacher preparation programs. The prospects for altering this condition are not promising. Even vigorous efforts at recruitment show unsatisfactory results.

Perhaps our greatest concern should be the fact that in

the minds of many concern over the equity-excellence issue is really not a pressing matter. Many policy makers appear to hold the view that if we have a generation or more with only a small number of minority teachers as a part of the price to pay for increased quality, so what? This is a view that strikes at the very heart of the heritage of American education. It rests at the core of the premise that in the United States everyone should have a chance, a real chance and not only the illusion of opportunity. If a group, any group, is sacrificed on the basis of thinly veiled elitest measures, then the potential for upward mobility, the chance for someone with modest means and a humble background, is lost. We have never, as a society, been willing to sacrifice the individual in the interest of the state. And now is not the time.

It is not that there are not abundant numbers of capable individuals. They have always been with us and they are with us now. They have been the black teachers and preachers who have provided powerful and capable leadership during difficult times. It is rather that more attractive opportunities are available to them now that have been closed in the past. It is simply not reasonable to expect them to continue to sacrifice their personal interests on behalf of the community. Rather, teaching simply must become more competitive in terms of prestige and salary than is now the case.

Teaching does not have to be made attractive to secure capable people in sufficient numbers. It simply needs to be made competitive with other comparable careers. If teaching is made competitive, the intrinsic rewards of the profession itself will attract able and caring individuals to the profession in sufficient numbers to staff the schools. In other words, we do not need an edge to attract talented teachers, we simply need a chance. This is a problem of great and growing proportions. And it applies to other minority groups as well. Educators, more than any other group, have a duty and responsibility not to let the equity-excellence issue be set aside.

We are entering the information age. It is a new age in our civilization, one in which higher levels of education than ever before will be essential for survival. Is it any wonder that we are the center of controversy and concern? How can we communicate the importance of what SCDEs do in the larger scheme of things in our society?

How many of you can think of a teacher, or two or three if you are lucky, who touched your life deeply and made a difference in who and what you are? Remember, you are no different than a member of your board of trustees, an influential alumnus, doctor, lawyer, banker, legislator, bus driver or any other member of your community.

Think of your preservice teacher preparation program. Suppose each year you prepare and recommend for certification 100 elementary and 100 secondary teachers who each teach for 25 years. The graduating class for just one year of the size I have just described holds the potential to touch the lives of 375,000 people!

Think of all the people whose lives are deeply touched by teachers. Think of the power of the teacher to shape and mold the lives of those who will lead and live in our nation. Just one graduating class from just one college of education holds the potential to influence the lives of thousands of individuals. When people understand that they can begin, just begin, to understand why what we do and what we are is so vital to our nation.

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VI

TEACHER EDUCATION AND TEACHER TESTING: THE RUSH TO MANDATE

Gregory R. Anrig

One of the fastest-moving changes in this period of educational reform is in teacher testing. In as little as five years, state-required testing for aspiring teachers to enter preparation and/or to become certified has spread from a handful of states—mainly in the southeast—to a nationwide trend involving 38 states, with seven additional states currently considering a teacher testing requirement. In 1984 alone, nine states enacted teacher testing laws or regulations.

The race towards teacher testing is not only nationwide; it is across-the-board. Twenty-one states require students to pass a test before entering a teacher education program. Thirty-two states have (or will have by 1988) a testing requirement for certification. A smaller number of states also test at completion of teacher training, for recertification or for advanced certification under career ladder-merit salary plans (Sandefur, 1984).

The teacher testing movement goes well beyond Educational Testing Service's NTE Program. While 21 states currently use one or another of the NTE tests, other tests used by states include the SAT, ACT, California Achievement Test, and state-developed tests (used in Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, and Oklahoma). Teacher testing is upon us and the issues it raises transcend any one of the tests.

What Teacher Tests Can Do

There is a place for teacher tests on the American educational scene. National opinion surveys indicate strong public teacher support for requiring satisfactory test performance as a condition for entering the teaching profession. A 1984 Gallup poll (*Teachers' Attitudes Toward the Public Schools*) reported the 89% of the public and almost two-thirds of the teachers polled favored state examinations for beginning teachers.

Properly developed and validated, teacher tests can measure the academic knowledge of prospective teachers. Within the limits of any standardized paper-and-pencil examination, teacher tests can demonstrate that a prospective teacher: (1) has a basic knowledge of the subject (or level) he or she plans to teach; (2) has the minimum pedagogical knowledge that experienced practitioners and teacher educators deem necessary for beginning teachers; and (3) demonstrates certain of the basic skills of communication necessary to instruct children in an elementary or secondary school classroom.

These are reasonable expectations—standards, if you will—for the prospective teacher to meet before being certified by the state. Just as lawyers, physicians and those in scores of occupations licensed by states must demonstrate a basic knowledge of their field in order to qualify for state licensure, so too it is reasonable to have such an expectation for teachers. State licenses are a form of consumer protection; school children are the primary consumers of education and are entitled to such protection.

What Teacher Tests Cannot Do

No standardized tests that I know of can accurately measure qualities such as dedication, motivation, perseverance, caring, sensitivity, or integrity. Yet when we remember outstanding teachers from our own school days, those are the qualities that made for excellence. We must admit the limits of tests and what they can measure. Moreover, we should recognize that tests must be limited in scope. They can present and measure only a sample of the knowledge required for teaching. Although what is sampled is the result of decisions by practitioners who determine the most important areas to be included in a test, views of experts will and do differ on these decisions.

No test results guarantee that a prospective teacher will succeed and be a really *good* teacher in the classroom. While no teacher can succeed and be very good without a strong knowledge of the subject taught and the skills of teaching; professional performance requires more than academic knowledge. Remember that most of the convicted Watergate defendants were lawyers who had successfully passed the Bar Exam!

All of this suggests that policymakers should keep teacher tests in their proper perspective. As in other fields of professional licensure and certification, tests are important aids for assuring that new entrants have mastered basic knowledge relevant to the job. They also can be useful to candidates, and to those who prepare them, for identifying the strengths and weaknesses of what has been learned preparing for the professional field. Because such tests are standardized, they help provide an educational yardstick for individuals, institutions and states.

Troubling Signs in the Teacher Testing Movement

As was true in some cases with state competency testing for students in the 1970s, the rush to legislate excellence through teacher testing is raising some troubling signs and leading to some decisions that are educationally unsound.

One such decision, now law in several states, is to make continued accreditation of teacher preparation programs dependent upon the test performance of prospective teachers who are completing such programs. The Educational Testing Service has testified against using teacher tests this way. Such use fails to recognize that from 60 to 80% of the college preparation received by a prospective teacher is in academic departments other than the department or college of education. On the NTE Core Battery, for instance, more students seem to have difficulty qualifying on the Test of General Knowledge than on the Test of Professional Knowledge.

Accountability for teacher education should rest with the entire college or university, not solely with the teacher preparation unit. If significant numbers of prospective teachers graduating from a college or university are failing to meet the state's minimum standards for certification, the state certainly has a right and obligation to question such a trend. The pro-

cess of review, however, should conform to good accreditation practice, including the opportunity for institutional self-examination, external validation and reasonable time to improve institutional performance. Some states allow only two years, from notice of probation, for graduating seniors to meet a predetermined standard of success on state certification tests. I believe this raises some of the same questions of fairness that have been raised in court challenges of testing programs for high school graduation.

A second area of concern regarding teacher testing has arisen in Arkansas and Texas. In the course of enacting comprehensive educational reform laws in both states, a requirement was included that all practicing teachers—regardless of years of service and satisfactory ratings by their school supervisors—would have to pass a one-time "functional academic skills" or "literacy" test in order to retain their teaching certificate. Such a testing requirement is unprecedented for any other occupation requiring state licensure or certification.

Certainly, no one wants an illiterate or otherwise incompetent teacher in the classroom. As with accreditation, however, there are reasonable and educationally sound procedures for addressing this through careful supervision, evaluation, and—in the absence of improvement—by termination with due process. To put an experienced teacher's professional career on the line solely on the basis of a mandatory, one-time test is both an injustice to the teacher and a misuse of tests. The Educational Testing Service and the NTE Policy Council, in an unprecedented action for test development organizations, have refused to allow the use of NTE tests for this purpose in either Texas or Arkansas.

A third area that must be of profound concern to all of us in education is the effect of the teacher testing movement on access of minorities to the teaching force of American schools. The Educational Testing Service has recently published two research reports (Goertz, 1984, 1985)—one on the general impact of state testing policies on the teaching profession and one specifically on the impact on teacher selection of NTE use by states. These reports present data that document the effect of current state testing policies on Black and Hispanic access to teaching.

To understand the dimensions of this problem, let us look at teacher test results in four states. In California, passing rates on the California Basic Educational Skills Test were 76% for White test-takers, 39% for Hispanic test-takers and 26% for Black test-takers.[1] In Georgia, 87% of White students passed the Georgia Teacher Certification Test on the first attempt but only 34% of Black students did so. In Oklahoma, the pass rate on its certification test for White students was 79%, for Hispanic students 58%, and for Black students 48%. In Florida, 83% of those who took that state's teacher certification examination in 1982 passed each of its four parts. Among Black test-takers, however, the pass rate was 35%. On the Test of Communications Skills in the NTE Core Battery, using national data and the median qualifying score (644) of states using this test, the passing rates would be 94% for Whites, 48% for Blacks and 70% for Hispanics. (Data are from the two referenced reports. Qualifying scores for these tests differ and are determined by each state.)

The ETS research reports conclude that, by the year 2000, if there is no significant change in the current status of teacher preparation, the percentage of minorities in the teaching force of the United States could be cut almost in half from its current level of approximately 12%. This decline will be taking place at the same time as the proportion of minority students enrolled in American schools is increasing dramatically. The growing mismatch between the racial and ethnic composition of the teaching force and the racial and ethnic composition of student enrollment in schools is a matter with serious social and educational implications for the nation and for its schools.

Test Bias or Unequal Educational Opportunities?

There is a natural and predictable reaction to blame differences in test results on racial or ethnic bias in the tests. Similar charges have been made against other national tests. Yet something encouraging is happening that counsels against such a reaction. The performance of minority students on the SAT, College Board Achievement and Advanced Placement tests, and on exercises of the National Assessment of Educational Progress is improving and improving dramatically

(ETS, 1984). Similar patterns of improvement have been reported on state basic skills tests. Minority students are demonstrating that they can and will do better on standardized tests if they are provided better educational opportunities.

Tests certainly can be biased. When they are not, however, they can be useful barometers of the quality of education provided to minority and majority students. At ETS, we strive earnestly to guard against bias in the NTE and other tests we develop. The committees that develop test items are multiracial. Before the new NTE Core Battery was inaugurated in 1982, multiracial panels of experienced classroom teachers chosen independently by the National Education Association and by the American Federation of Teachers examined results for every question in the field test of the new Core Battery. In addition, all ETS test items go through a mandatory sensitivity review process in which specially-trained ETS test development experts search for any potential bias on the basis of race, sex or ethnicity. The NTE and all other tests developed by ETS must conform fully to the *ETS Standards for Quality and Fairness*.[2] Even after all this, states are required by ETS to conduct their own validity studies before they can use NTE tests. These validity studies provide a process for review of the tests for bias that is independent of ETS.

It is a regrettable fact that most children from financially poor families—minority and White—go to school in financially poor urban and rural school districts. Working conditions in such districts are such that the better teachers are more likely to be hired in more affluent school districts (despite the fact that many able, dedicated teachers serve in urban and rural districts). As someone whose entire professional career has been committed to the cause of equal educational opportunities, I believe strongly that we do not serve children well or fairly—especially educationally disadvantaged children—by giving them teachers who have not themselves mastered the basic skills that the children must learn before they can graduate from high school. If those who aspire to teach can't qualify on state-required teacher tests, the solution isn't to do away with the tests. The solution is to improve the education being provided to aspiring teachers. This is what is needed—not permitting inadequately prepared teachers, White or mi-

nority, to inadequately prepare children who need and deserve better in the classroom.

A Challenge for Colleges of Teacher Education

This period of educational reform and the teacher testing movement present an opportunity for colleges of teacher education. While educational reform up to now has focused mainly on elementary and secondary education, teacher educators have the chance to be at the forefront of educational reform in higher education.

Teacher preparation is higher education's *primary* responsibility to the schools. Most college and university presidents have by now identified themselves with the drive for school reform in the name of excellence. Their actions and words, however, have concentrated on what the *schools* should do to improve. The results of teacher testing laws are making clear what some *institutions of higher education* should do to improve.

I recognize how difficult it is sometimes for faculty and deans in colleges or departments of education to lead change within their institutions. Burton Clark, professor of education at UCLA—comparing higher education in the United States with that in other countries—writes as follows:

> The place of "teacher education" in this web of (American) institutions is a woeful tale of marginality and insecurity—a tale of a large and unkempt Cinderella, relegated permanently to a corner. When this pathetic creature is allowed to come to the academic table, she huddles at the far end. The others at the table—representing physics, biology, political science, English, history, and other disciplines—pretend that she is not there and wish she would go away. (p. 396)

I personally don't agree with Professor Clark's characterization (or with his treatment of Cinderella!). I urge you in this audience to "come out fighting" at the academic table within your institutions. Teacher preparation is a responsibility of the entire college or university, not just the teacher education unit. The performance of aspiring teachers on the growing number of state-required teacher tests reflects on the policies and curriculum of institutions of higher education *as a whole*.

If their performance is less than you think it should be, the institution must act to correct this.

Some historically Black colleges are taking the lead in this higher education reform. These colleges traditionally have prepared a large portion of the Black teachers in American schoolrooms. They are feeling the impact of the new standards reflected in the teacher testing movement and so are their students. In collaboration with historically Black colleges, ETS held an invitational conference two months ago at which representatives from nine historically Black colleges described how their institutions were tackling this challenge.

I was so impressed by what I heard in these reports that I want to summarize the actions that these teacher educators believe will begin to achieve positive results. The approaches differ among the historically Black colleges that participated in this conference, but common elements included:

1. *Presidential Leadership:* In each case, the college or university president was visibly involved and strongly committed to a sustained improvement effort.

2. *Institution-Wide Responsibility:* The improvement effort drew on and required the involvement of all academic departments. In one college, for instance, a college-wide faculty committee is taking the lead with faculty discussions and seminars being conducted on an interdisciplinary basis. In a university, the steering committee is comprised of the deans of education, sciences and arts and humanities and the vice chancellor for academic affairs. In each instance, the education dean or chair is a key participant.

3. *Specified Policies for Student Advancement and/or Graduation:* Policies for admission to teacher preparation programs, for advancement from sophomore to junior level courses and/or for graduation have been reviewed, strengthened and specified.

4. *Student Proficiency Assessment:* Faculty-developed or standardized tests are being introduced for advancement of all students from sophomore to junior level courses, for admission to the teacher preparation program and/or for graduation. All students, not just students in teacher preparation, are being expected to demonstrate certain basic proficiencies.

5. *Learning/Developmental Centers:* Centers are being provided for remedial study and instruction. Some institutions

require attendance; in others it is voluntary. One such center has an extensive instructional staff and a wide array of self-instruction materials (tapes, films, computer software, texts and workbooks). It is centrally located on the campus and has extended hours to promote student use of its services.

6. *Curriculum Review and Modification:* Improvement efforts are focusing on curriculum content and instruction, not just tests. Faculty committees review the content of required tests against the institution's curriculum but the main focus is how to develop student proficiency and how each department can contribute to this. In one institution, for instance, each degree-granting department will sponsor a required writing seminar for its majors.

7. *Cooperative Outreach and Talent Identification:* One college, in cooperation with a city school district, has initiated an outreach program to identify talented youth who might be interested in becoming teachers. The school district and college will provide experiences introducing such students to the teaching profession.

These actions represent a very promising development in higher education and teacher education. I present them to stimulate your thinking about what you can do when you return to your own campus.

A Challenge for Testing Organizations Like ETS

Let me assure you that ETS is practicing what I am preaching today. We, too, must act and lead. We have and we will. In cooperation with presidents of historically Black colleges, we have jointly initiated what is called the HBC/ETS Collaboration. A series of workshops have been conducted drawing on areas of ETS expertise to address needs that the historically Black colleges have identified for themselves. ETS is learning a great deal from this cooperative venture that will help improve ETS services to the entire educational community. Workshops have included financial aid, academic use of computers, and program evaluation. We presently are planning activities related to improving student performance on teacher tests, particularly the NTE. In a separate undertaking, ETS is cooperating with the Southern Regional Education Board to pro-

vide faculty workshops on the NTE and on faculty-developed tests.

ETS provides NTE Item Summary Workshops for interested colleges and universities. When appropriate time and support can be arranged, ETS staff meet with interdisciplinary faculty committees to analyze item-by-item performance on the NTE tests by students from that institution. This helps faculty members analyze how well students in that college or university perform on particular NTE questions and compare this performance with that of others across the country who have taken the NTE. Twenty-eight higher education institutions have held NTE item summary workshops over the past two years.

ETS also has acted to provide information to policymakers and teacher educators. I already have described our position on proper test use in Arkansas and Texas. We have been more successful in constructively influencing public policy on teacher tests in other states such as Tennessee and Florida. The two ETS research reports on the impact of state testing policies on teacher selection are another part of our effort to raise important policy issues regarding the teacher testing movement. I hope this presentation today serves the same purpose for AACTE.

Another contribution soon to be completed is the first comprehensive job analysis of the teaching role in American elementary and secondary schools.[3] Teacher tests in the United States traditionally have been validated on the basis of what is taught in teacher preparation programs *before* entering the profession. In other occupational fields, validation of licensing examinations generally is based on their relevance to duties *after* a person is actually on the job. The role of a teacher, however, is considered so complex and diverse that standard job analysis has not been thought possible until recently.

ETS will shortly be publishing the results of a 16-month job analysis project for teaching. An ETS research team, led by two of our most knowledgeable program scientists in the field of job analysis, has developed a job analysis model for the teaching profession. Three thousand classroom teachers representing elementary, middle and high school levels and most subject matter fields participated in this project. We will use this job analysis model in the future as a basis for validating

the NTE for state certification purposes. We believe that it will make a contribution not only to test construction but also to teacher education.

In these and other ways, some of them in collaboration with your own organization, ETS is trying to meet the challenge that the teacher testing movement presents to test development organizations.

A Challenge to the Nation and to the Teaching Profession

This is an extraordinary time for the teaching profession. The country is reawakening to the importance of education and to the value of the teacher. With this reawakening, however, are coming higher public expectations. In state after state, we are seeing a dramatic change in public attitudes and a new willingness to pay more for education—but not more for the *same* education. The body politic is insisting on better education and better educational results.

Teachers should not only support these higher expectations but should lead in achieving them. For instance, I applaud Albert Shanker, President of the American Federation of Teachers, who recently called for a new national teacher test to assure the public that aspiring teachers who pass it have not just minimal educational skills but basic knowledge at a professional level. Rather than each state imposing different standards, the teaching profession can determine its own standards, supplemented as necessary by state-specific requirements as in the professions of law and medicine. I particularly applaud Mr. Shanker's willingness to make such a test a future condition of membership in his organization. I urge the NEA to consider seriously how both organizations can act jointly on this matter on behalf of the entire teaching profession. Any nationwide approach certainly should come from the profession itself and not from the federal government.

It is time, too, for the profession to act on the matter of incompetent teachers. A teacher's failure to meet minimum teaching standards in the classroom does violence to the educational rights and opportunities of children. That teacher's colleagues suffer as does the entire profession. Teachers have an obligation to help assure competence in their ranks. I be-

lieve the best way to achieve this is active peer involvement in the supervision, development and evaluation of teachers. Assured by the creditable involvement of its own members that a teacher has been judged incompetent by criteria and procedures that are fair, affiliates of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association should support rather than resist appropriate termination actions.

In terms of newcomers to the field, the nation and the teaching profession share a common interest in attracting able talent to the ranks of teaching. As we raise our standards, we also must broaden the pool of future teachers who can meet them. Once more we are entering a period when the supply of teachers will be less than the demand. Emergency certificates, the typical response to such a shortage, short-circuit standards and short-change children. We need to be seeking new talent for teaching; we need to be creating new public and private scholarship programs for aspiring teachers. I urge the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association to launch a nationwide effort by their affiliates in the nation's 15,000 school districts to raise scholarship funds for students they identify as promising future teachers (as teacher associations in many school districts do already). I urge that particular priority be given to identifying promising minority students for the teaching ranks. If the teachers in each school district could launch only two future teachers on their way, we would have more than 30,000 aspiring teachers every year. That sounds so good that I challenge the American Association of Colleges for Teacher education to join in!

The strength of educational reform in the 1980s lies in the fact that its dynamism has come from communities and states across the land. It has been nationwide rather than national and that is the way it should continue. While those in the "bully pulpits" of Washington can help by constructive exhortation, the real leadership must come from the towns and cities and states of America. The search for excellence in schools is a citizens' movement. And that includes you and me. The political luster of school reform inevitably will begin to dim. We must redouble our efforts to sustain this improvement. The schools and children of America are counting on us, all of us. We can't let them down.

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Notes

[1]The California Basic Educational Skills Test is developed by ETS. The Georgia, Oklahoma and Florida certification tests are not developed by ETS.

[2]The *ETS Standards for Quality and Fairness* meet or exceed the *Joint Technical Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests* of the American Educational Research Association, American Psychological Association and the National Council on Measurement in Education.

[3]The use of the term "job analysis" here is as defined by the federal *Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Uniform Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures*.

VII

SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT: COMMON KNOWLEDGE, COMMON SENSE, UNCOMMON PRACTICE

Ann Lieberman

Amidst the clarion call for raising academic standards (more math, more science, more foreign language, more time on academic tasks) where there is uniform agreement, there is another body of knowledge that somehow has not reached the same level of acceptance. But without this knowledge and its application, the current press for reform will most assuredly make only cosmetic changes that will in the end validate the cynical saying "the more things change, the more they remain the same."

Some have called this dichotomy the academic vision versus the social vision (Featherstone, 1984), while others have referred to it as the intellectual versus the human dimension of schooling (Goodlad, 1984; Boyer, 1983). Still others, ignoring this human dimension, have characterized our present era as one where it is necessary "for government at all levels to affirm its responsibility for nurturing the nation's intellectual capital" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

Everyone agrees that the schools should be better. What is notably missing from the reform discussion is how to make changes in schools that last: how to organize school improvement efforts, how to engage school faculties who have been refugees of many reform movements, and how to build and sustain commitment from school superintendents, principals, teachers and people in policy making positions at the state and national level. The tough work of finding a focus for improve-

ment, teaching people how to work together, learning new ways of thinking, and providing time and leadership for new visions to take hold must become an integral part of the current quest for excellence, or this quest will surely be but another wasted opportunity.

Early Work

In the mid-60s many researchers and educators tried to find out how school improvement actually takes place. Seymour Sarason's work, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* that called attention to the school culture is virtually a classic in understanding schools and the problems inherent in changing them (Sarason, 1971). It was Sarason who first called attention to the fact that the insider's and the outsider's view of the school are not the same. If one looks from the inside, there is a complex culture operating between teachers and students, teachers and teachers, and principals and teachers. These relationships form unspoken norms that govern people's behavior. (If reformers fail to understand the culture of the school, they will most surely make mistakes and probably fail.) Part of understanding the culture is a recognition of the fact that the very structure of individual classrooms encourages teachers to hold tight to their own way of doing things (right or wrong), and be beholden to their students or class for a major source of rewards.

It was Sarason who made us aware that schools have certain regularities that must be understood as significant parts of the school culture. Teachers, students and principal behave in certain predictable ways (behavioral regularities) and schools run according to certain commonplaces (programmatic regularities). If any change is to happen, both of these bedrocks of the school culture must be changed.

The I/D/E/A studies of the late 1960s, sponsored by John Goodlad in Southern California, also had significant findings about the problems and processes of improving schools (Goodlad, 1975; Bentzen, 1974). By joining together 18 different school districts into a league and working with them over a five-year period, Goodlad and his team were able to work with principals and their faculties to gain both the insider's and out-

sider's perspective spoken about by Sarason. Over the five-year period they found:

1. The individual school must be where school improvement takes place. Staff development must be a collective effort involving the whole staff, not teachers one by one.
2. Because each school has a different culture and different kinds of problems, problem solving skills should become part of the repertoire of the staff and principal. Most schools will need help in gaining these skills.
3. Many people are not aware of staff development activities that can aid in providing alternative solutions to problems identified. Schools do not typically see their own people as being a rich source of expertise.
4. In the league project, there was a central group that helped provide for innovative norms, support and resources. (Williams, 1978)

At the same time as the I/D/E/A studies, the Rand Corporation did a national evaluation of many of the Title I programs across the country. They focused attention on how ideas actually get into a school. Attention was called to both district and local organization of schools and how ideas get changed and honed to meet local differences. Where both the organization and the people changed there was a process of "mutual adaptation" that took place. That is, the organization made some accommodations to the new program and the people moved and changed as well. In recent years, a new term has been added that fleshes out this study even more. Bird (1984), in his description of a complex innovative program on drug prevention in schools, describes both mutual adaptation and the process of "mutual commitment". Both the producers of the ideas, in this case an outside group, and the users of the ideas, the teachers, negotiate, push and pull, and in the process become committed to a mutually collective process. In addition to these large conceptual ideas, the Rand researchers also found successful implementation to be characterized by:

1. Concrete teacher-specific staff training.
2. Classroom assistance over time.
3. Teacher observation of similar projects.
4. Teacher participation in project decisions.
5. Principal participation in the project learning.
6. Local materials development. (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978)

On Teachers

At the same time as these large scale studies, others were working on trying to understand teacher differences, their sources and consequences. Bussis, Chittenden and Amarel (1976) in trying to understand the constructs that teachers use, found that teachers have two sets of priorities that dominate their work. These are cognitive and personal/social priorities. Teachers were found to differ considerably in what they thought important. Teachers with narrow priorities had a major concern with basic skills and children being polite and docile. Teachers with mid-range priorities were interested in children being independent and feeling good about themselves, while those with comprehensive priorities were concerned with children knowing what they were about and why, and being aware of themselves and knowing their strengths and weaknesses. Popkowitz, et al. (1982) studied a long term innovation (individually guided education) in six schools and focused not just on implementation, but rather on the professional ideologies that teachers held. These researchers found that teachers have certain concepts of knowledge that screen ideas and change them. The six schools were found to have three different ideological orientations even as all of them were attempting to use the same model. The three orientations were:

1. Technical orientation—in these schools the focus was on proficiency, mastery, worksheets and testing. The curriculum was fragmented and limited.

2. Illusory—in these schools, technology was used for order and control. There appeared to be form without content, an illusion that some real innovation was taking place.

3. Constructivist—These schools were characterized by high teacher and student involvement and a problem solving curriculum.

These studies began to tease out many of the complexities involved in school improvement efforts. They called our attention to the fact that schools are complex organizations, that teachers vary considerably in the way they go about their work, and the way improvement takes place involves an understanding of not just the idea or the school but the dynam-

ics of the interaction. These ideas were summarized by Emrick and Peterson (1978) when they said:

- Meaningful change occurs as a process.
- Directed personal intervention is the most potent.
- Continuous personal participation of the implementing staff is needed to firmly root and sustain use.
- Administrators occupy a crucial role.

Descriptive, instructional and support materials are needed. It was these early studies that laid the groundwork for the continued search for specific characteristics of schools that could be changed. Researchers and practitioners alike were searching for models of schools that exemplified places that worked for both the adults and the students.

Effective Schools and Effective Classrooms

In the mid-1970s, Rutter and his colleagues did a three-year study of 12 secondary schools in London. The researchers were looking for influences on students that might be due to differences in the social organization of the schools. All these schools were in inner city London. A direct focus was on the behavior, delinquency and attendance of the students. A major finding was that in spite of the similarity of the student population, the schools differed in the style and quality of school life. In schools where student attendance was high, where students came to class and where academic learning was going on, schools were deemed to be effective. The schools were characterized by certain conditions that made them effective. They were:

1. Strong leadership and maximum teacher autonomy.
2. High teacher expectations.
3. Strong instructional emphasis.
4. Availability of rewards and incentives for students.
5. Teacher agreement on school direction.
6. Ongoing staff development (teacher selected topics).
7. Opportunity for student responsibilities (Rutter, et al., 1979).

This study was done when confidence in schools was at an all time low. What it did was focus attention once more on the fact that schools were not alike, but more than that it focused on characteristics that could be both observed and changed

that made them different. "Effective schools" has become the slogan of the 1980s. At least a half a dozen other studies done with urban populations documented that schools could become "effective" if they had strong leadership, an orderly school climate, strong instructional emphasis, frequent pupil monitoring and high teacher expectations for students (Mann, 1980).

Effective Classrooms

At the same time that researchers were identifying characteristics of effective schools, others were working on finding characteristics of effective teachers.

Effective classrooms are characterized by:

1. Teachers who have a systematic approach to classroom management. Procedures establishing and organizing routines are put in place during the first two weeks of school (Evertson, 1980).
2. Teachers who are effective prevent problems from arising rather than having special skills for disciplining (Kounin, 1970).
3. Teachers who maximize student's time on task and students who are highly engaged during classwork.
4. Teachers who use instructional procedures that guarantee checking previous day's work, presenting new content skills, giving time for practice, giving feedback and correctives, provisions for independent practice, and review (Goode, 1983).

But these "Effective Schools and Effective Classrooms" findings are far easier to describe than to implement in schools and classrooms. They have an intuitive logic to them that makes them attractive but must not be sold as recipes. Who can argue that a classroom run by a teacher who has a sense of order and structure, who is purposeful and humane and uses appropriate techniques will be successful? But, schools, classrooms and teachers are different for a variety of reasons as both research and experience have taught us. We need not only good descriptions of good schools, but organizational strategies to get there.

So we come full circle to the early work described above. We know that efforts to improve schools are made up not only of ideas about new requirements or teaching strategies or appropriate techniques, but that these ideas are embedded in school cultures that are amazingly complex and different. We

now know that to involve people in their own improvement demands collegial work, commitment, time for collaborative planning and a process that allows teachers and principals to work on areas of school improvement (Purkey and Smith, 1982). And we know that there are "legitimate requirements that the organization imposes and authentic needs of teachers as persons" (Schlecty, et al., 1983).

School Improvement and Organizational Change

Perhaps the most enlightened learning we have had in the last decade is something many people knew all along. The context within which people work is the most critical. If anything is to change, we must learn how to change both the structure, the roles and the nature of the interaction of the people who work in schools (theory, as Waller (1932) told us over 50 years ago, must be based on practice). We have long held a simplistic view of what motivates people to grow and change. For some people it is as natural as eating, but others will need coaxing, encouragement, enlightenment.

Judith Warren Little's study of successful staff development deepens our understanding of what Sarason meant a decade ago when he wrote that to change schools one must change the school culture: both the "behavioral and programmatic regularities." In her study she documents how principals working with teachers implemented mastery learning. They changed regularities by:

1. Announcing expectations for shared work with shared talk.
2. Allocating resources and rewards for working together.
3. Having daily interaction with teachers.

These behaviors on the part of the principal helps break the cultural norms of teacher isolation and privatism. By rewarding collectivity, teachers gain confidence that public learning, sharing, and teaching are to be expected. Observing each other, planning together, critiquing one another's work become the new regularities, the improved school, the changed organization. The curriculum is not only changed by creating new materials for mastery learning, but the culture of the school is changed as principal and teachers work together as colleagues. (Creating a mastery curriculum [experimentation] and work-

ing together [collegiality] become the new norms of the school culture.) Other changes in the organization of schools also become evident as new roles are created.

Differentiated Roles for Teachers

Whether they are called master teacher, mentor, senior teacher, helping teacher, teacher specialist, teacher resource linker—all are names for teachers who work with teachers to help enhance their teaching repertoire.

The Teacher Specialist—A Prototype

Perhaps the best example of a master teacher is the role of the teacher specialist running a teacher center within a school. These teachers give workshops, demonstrate in class, and work one to one or in groups. They begin with the needs of the teachers and work at giving nonevaluative help to teachers. In the process they model a new expectation for teachers—an expectation that improving one's teaching is a professional responsibility and that help is available.

This expectation is made manifest by the actual room of a Teacher Center—filled with curriculum materials and ideas for the classroom. There are places to sit and chat, books and materials and a specialist to provide for the needs of teachers. The norm created is one of collegiality and professionalism to supplant isolation and insulation from one's peers.

Collaborative Research

Still another new role is teacher as researcher as part of a team. (See IR&DS, Griffin, Lieberman and Noto, 1983). In this example, teachers (usually in groups of two to four), a researcher and a staff developer work together as a team. The team decides on a problem as the basis for their research. They collect evidence, interpret it and use either the process, the product or both as staff development for others.

The New York City Teacher Centers Consortium team studied the factors which enable teachers to feel and act positively about their work. By interviewing "positive teachers," they found that five themes emerged. Positive teachers:

1. Enjoyed interacting and being influential with their students.
2. Enjoyed receiving reinforcement, recognition and respect from administration and colleagues.
3. Felt pride and confidence in viewing teaching as a personal challenge.
4. Desired freedom and resources to both experiment and be creative with the curriculum.
5. Felt most positive when there was a match between teacher values, assets and orientation, and the demands of the grade and school. (Final Report—Teacher Center Team, 1982).

Networks for School Improvement

We now have several examples of successful networks organized for the purposes of school improvement. Two networks have been written about extensively: the League of Cooperating Schools (Goodlad, 1975) and, more recently, the Study of Dissemination Efforts Supporting School Improvement (Crandall, et al., 1983). In both, a loose organizational arrangement was created where people came together for both information and psychological support, where membership was fluid, and where the members came as an alternative to other formal organizations (Parker, 1979). The focus of both networks was on school improvement. Several networks are in existence today (e.g., the Metropolitan School Study Council that ties together Teachers College and 38 school districts). What these studies describe is another organizational arrangement that provides a supportive environment for sharing and learning.

Content that Helps Teachers Reflect on Their Practices

We are finding many ways to work with teachers that provide for the engagement of teachers as adults who have a great deal of knowledge and experience. We are now mounting improvement efforts that are tied to the enhancement of teachers' repertoires, rather than the curing of teacher deficits. These include:

1. Using research transformed into usable practices: For details see the manual prepared by Biles, et al. (1983) which contains workshop ways of learning research for teachers.

2. Changing teacher practices: For details see Jane Stallings' (1971) work on providing check-lists and engagement activities for teachers using the active teaching research.

3. Changing teacher practice study: For details see Griffin, et al. (1983) for work on combining research on teaching with what is known about staff development.

Getting people together to work on local problems; working on a particular focus for a group; encouraging people to observe other programs and classrooms: All of these are ways to engage teachers. It has been said that teaching is a stingy profession—short on rewards and long on responsibility (Bird, 1984). If we are to learn from our own educational history, one of the lessons is that teachers must be engaged in helping create a social vision for their school and classroom. No matter how apparent this may seem, it must be stated and restated until, as June Goodfield (1981) has written in her poignant biography of a research immunologist:

> One day the point comes when you know that your discovery is in the collective thinking. People become bored because by then everybody knows what you are saying, accepts what you are talking about and wonders why you are taking so long to say something so obvious.

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VIII

APPLYING PERSPECTIVES FROM ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY TO CHANGE IN SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION

David L. Clark
Judy Meloy

The last thing that deans of education need to be told is that significant change in schools of education is difficult to effect and hard to sustain. Of course you might guess that is exactly what we intend to tell you first! However, our intent is not to preach or exhort but to examine why such change efforts should be so problematic. Why is there such a gap between what we already know about the change process and what we seem to be able to apply in our organizations? Are there ways for us to use what is known more effectively? We will examine the issue from the perspectives of the change literature, research on leadership, and organizational theory.

Change and Faculty Members

Surely the role and status of faculty members in colleges and universities must stack the odds against change in these institutions. Faculty are granted relative independence in the focus of their activity and the use of their time; many, perhaps most, are more strongly committed to their discipline than to the university in which they are located; they are protected by tenure; the expertise of the faculty member mandates against reassignment or even administrative pressure in primary as-

signments of responsibility; and staff development and retraining are almost absent from these organizational settings.

These factors influence change efforts in schools, colleges and departments of education (SCDEs), but they are minor considerations. All organizational settings have constraints that emphasize stability rather than change. We need to focus on the ordinariness of the constraints in the environment of a SCDE not the uniqueness. Faculty are not hesitant to change because of their unique role definition. Rather, they find change vexatious, as does everyone, because it involves novelty. Novelty in turn opens us up to surprises (including unpleasant ones) and uncertainty about whether we can perform under the altered conditions. Eric Hoffer (1967) caught the sense of fear that comes with the new in this homey anecdote in *The Ordeal of Change:*

> Back in 1936 I spent a good part of the year picking peas. I started out early in January in the Imperial Valley and drifted northward, picking peas as they ripened, until I picked the last peas of the season, in June, around Tracy. Then I shifted all the way to Lake County, where for the first time I was going to pick string beans. And I still remember how hesitant I was that first morning as I was about to address myself to the string bean vines. Would I be able to pick string beans? Even the change from peas to string beans had in it elements of fear. (p. 3)

The compelling feature of the Hoffer story is the triviality of the change needed to evoke fear, uncertainty, and a temporary suspension of a sense of self-efficacy. The change need not even be as modest as teaching a new course. A new text book will do the job as will a room one has never taught in before, the first meeting of the hundredth committee you have chaired, or a request to serve as a marshal at graduation.

The inherently personal nature of the response to change causes it to be misunderstood by others who are unconcerned about changes not required of them. Most of us, most of the time, simply cannot empathize with the changes required of others. If you choose or are forced to pick string beans, who will empathize with your anxiety? More often than not, your anxiety will provoke impatience and hostility in those who have a personal investment in your ability to change.

Regardless of reaction, empathetic or hostile, you are left with your anxiety. And you can bet that anxiety and insecurity have much more to do with the reluctance to change in schools

and colleges of education than all the specific organizational characteristics or academic arguments mounted to mask the fear and loss of self-efficacy.

This argument leads us to the first proposition we would encourage you to entertain as administrators committed to effecting change in a school of education:

Proposition 1:

> The overriding obstacle to change in any school of education is the difficulty experienced by *all* people in *all* organizations toward *all* change. The special constraints on change in the university environment are important, although secondary, factors.

The preceding paragraphs have not included new information for most of you. We know Hoffer is right. In our more contemplative moments we know that blaming others for being resistant to change is nonsensical. However, most of our moments in education have not been contemplative. The empirical evidence on the behavior of educational planners and administrators suggests strongly that they believe change will not occur unless it is (a) leader-dominated, (b) centralized, (c) based on a priori goals, (d) monitored continuously, and (e) evaluated early and often in relation to pre-specified goals. This pattern seems equally true whether the change is initiated by the federal government, a state agency, a local school district or university, or an individual school or department of education. Change efforts have been characterized by directives, hyperrationality, and an insistence upon continuous quality control, evaluation, and accountability. Thus, if change in teacher education is the objective, the typical solution is likely to be the establishment of a centralized unit to carry it out. If we are concerned about research productivity or field service in a SCDE, the solution is often the establishment of a center or bureau concentrating on the function. Our mind set about solutions is tipped off by our efforts to rationalize the improvement process—a task force, a blue ribbon committee, a planning committee, a reorganization committee.

This pattern of behavior exacerbates every negative, human feeling about change by segregating the participants into adopters, planners, doers, and assessors. Hostility across groups is likely as the now separated participants disappoint one another. Planners structure unrealistic expectations.

Doers fail to meet expectations. Adopters fail to provide resources. Assessors parcel out blame to everyone else.

We are trying very hard to attract your attention to the troublesome anomaly between what we know and what we do in relation to individuals and the change process. Let us consider a second proposition:

Proposition 2:

> Every organization tries to balance (a) the need to stimulate change and improvement while creating a stable working environment for people, with (b) the need to encourage individual participation while controlling the change process. As administrators address the issues of planned change and the needs of people in the organization, the solution most often adopted is oriented toward adjusting the people to fit the structure, i.e., to impose, gently or harshly, structural modifications that will force people to adapt to new programs or goals.

Fitting people to structure is a venerable solution to an old problem, but it is not the only available option. A quarter century ago Douglas McGregor (1960) reflected on this issue and its likely consequences noting, "Many of our attempts to control behavior, far from representing selective adaptations, are in direct violation of human nature. They consist in trying to make people behave as we wish without concern for natural law" (p. 9). And he added, "When we fail to achieve the results we desire, we tend to seek the cause everywhere but where it usually lies: in our choice of inappropriate methods of control. . . . [when] people respond to managerial decisions in undesired ways, the normal response is to blame them" (p. 10).

Peters and Waterman (1984) attempted to confront their readership with the same dilemma in arguing for the pivotal role of the person in the organization. They argued that the fundamental lesson from their research on excellent companies is to: "Treat people as adults. Treat them as partners; treat them with dignity; treat them with respect. Treat them . . . as the primary source of productivity gains" (p. 238).

There is a tendency to dismiss such statements as truisms until it begins to dawn on us that Peters and Waterman are not talking about common practice. They are talking about excellence, about outliers. In most organizations, the behavior toward people that they describe would be novel. However,

that novel behavior fits all that we know about how people change in organizations.

Why, then, is it not common practice? Because organizational leaders are pressed continuously to: (a) submit plans for approval before trials begin; (b) set up achievable goals; (c) monitor the change process; (d) evaluate achievements—in short, be accountable. Those demands are neither inappropriate nor unrealistic. They simply impede change.

We would like to try a third proposition for your consideration:

Proposition 3:

> Change-oriented SCDEs must consistently trade-off structural or organizational concerns by (a) providing support systems for faculty who are being asked to change; (b) moving the locus of change to faculty, i.e., viewing them as the source of productivity gains; and (c) creating a conducive environment for change that emphasizes trial and tolerates error.

Leadership Role of the Dean

Our images of leadership are confused and blurred. The dominant metaphor for leadership is still the military. Leaders run a tight ship, rally the troops, bite the bullet, lead the charge, and wage campaigns. We feel comfortable with leaders who assert that the buck stops here, that they are in charge, that they are not running popularity contests.

But organizational theory, organizational studies and our own experience offer little support for the efficacy of this simplistic view of leader behavior. In fact, leaders have control over a sharply limited set of factors and events in their organizations. Their actions determine many fewer organizational outcomes than are determined by organizational routine or sheer accident. The outcomes are embedded in events and circumstances that preceded the leader's tenure in the organization and will persist when s/he leaves.

Cohen and March (1974) referred directly to this issue in their study of the college presidency. They argued that the college president confronts four basic ambiguities, those of purpose, power, experience, and success. They noted, "These ambiguities are fundamental to college presidents because they

strike at the heart of the usual interpretations of leadership" (p. 185). March and Olsen (1976) suggested that the outcome of such a condition is that:

> Action is driven by routines. Individuals attend to decisions when, and because, that is what they are expected to do. Executives spend their time in a particular way because that is a part of the job. Time is not so much allocated by decisions as by socialization into and acceptance of roles and by the connection to routine procedures. (p. 49)

Is all of this beginning to sound and feel familiar? We hope so because the illusion of control makes it difficult for leaders or managers to function effectively in organizations. The socialization processes that help determine the leader's role in the organization are also working for and on other organizational participants. This led Weick (1979) to observe that, "Managers often get in the way of activities that have their own self-regulation, form and self-correction tendencies. These natural control circuits are disrupted by managerial meddling" (p. 8). He also argued that, "subordinates ultimately determine the amount of influence exerted by those who lead" (p. 16), i.e.:

1. the person at the top is vulnerable
2. if the hierarchy is to be maintained, it must be reestablished by the leader issuing *acceptable* orders to subordinates
3. the acceptability of orders is determined by the self-interest of those to whom the orders are addressed. (p. 16)

Consider, then, the following proposition about the leadership role of the dean in schools of education:

Proposition 4:

> Most SCDE deans accept the prevailing image of leadership as the dominant force controlling the future and the success of their organizations. This leads to over-management and an overemphasis on the activity and importance of the dean's office. In fact, the influence of higher education administrators on their academic units is significant but uncertain, dependent on factors beyond the dean's control, and nested inseparably in the abilities and interests of the school's faculty.

Douglas McGregor set the tone for much of the leadership research of the 1960's and 70's with his theoretical argument that managers make fundamental assumptions about human

behavior that affect managerial strategies. He argued that a cluster of assumptions, which he labeled Theory X, are alive and well as determiners of administrative strategy even though most people are sophisticated enough to deny that they are their basic assumptions. McGregor's Theory X cluster assumed: (a) the average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can; (b) because of this human characteristic of dislike of work, most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, and threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives; and (c) the average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has relatively little ambition, wants security above all.

McGregor felt that the counterpoint assumptions, which he labeled Theory Y, had been validated by the accumulation of knowledge in the social and behavioral sciences. Paraphrased, they are: (a) the average human being does not inherently dislike work; (b) persons will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which they are committed; (c) commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement; (d) the average human being learns not only to accept but to seek responsibility; and (e) the capacity to exercise imagination, ingenuity, and creativity is widely, not narrowly, distributed in the population.

We contend that designated leaders, including deans of education, persevere in management strategies and daily behaviors that reflect the assumptions of Theory X. This condition continues although the organizational research of the past twenty-five years casts doubt upon the efficacy of those assumptions. We would further argue that the existence and persistence of Theory X is attributable in substantial measure to the narrow image of leadership and control noted in Proposition 4.

To return to the former argument: if you accepted the Theory X assumptions, how might you think about change in your SCDE? Let's take the three assumptions and apply them:

1. Faculty would be imagined as targets for change, i.e., at best they would be passive since change almost always involves more work.

2. Faculty would be imagined as obstacles in the change process, because their central objective would be to maintain the status quo and stabilize the workload.
3. The genesis for change would be the dean and dean's office staff. Faculty may fall into line if the change is well-programmed and asks little from them.

In mounting a change strategy to fit these assumptions we:

1. Find "soft" faculty members of influence who may be willing to try something new or to front for the change.
2. Threaten the faculty with the consequences of staying with the status quo, e.g., if we don't change, the central administration will do it for us; if we don't increase credit hours, we will lose faculty lines.
3. Assure faculty that they will receive explicit extrinsic rewards if they join the effort; imply they will not if they do not.
4. Pick off groups of the faculty one-by-one, e.g., assure the secondary education department that if they go along they can expect a staff-add next year.

We do not need to continue. You are the deans! Who could better augment this list? The point is that Theory X is alive and well; its assumptions are the guide to action on rare occasions for a few deans, sometimes for most deans, and frequently for many deans.

Proposition 5:

> The limited image of leadership held by many deans leads to the acceptance of outmoded, although popularly accepted, assumptions about human behavior in organizations. This image of leadership plus the behavioral assumptions lead to change strategies that are overly centralized, rationalized, and monitored.

So firm are the traditional views of organizational leadership that imagining an alternative is difficult. But return to the assumptions of Theory Y. What do they suggest about the faculty of a school of education? They suggest that faculty do not have to be manipulated or coerced to change. They are not trying to avoid work or block innovation—they are trying to create an interesting, fulfilling role to play in the school or college. Faculty members would be imagined as the source of change in a school of education. Self-directed and committed faculty can actually take over the change process in an institution.

In mounting a change strategy to fit these assumptions we might:

1. Decentralize the change process to designated work groups (e.g., departments or centers), ad hoc work groups (i.e., voluntary interest groups), and individual faculty.
2. Concentrate the efforts of the administration on obtaining resources to support faculty efforts, providing staff development opportunities, and recognizing faculty achievements with rewards and awards.
3. Rationalize the positive achievements of the faculty into the objectives of the organization. Then, change and commitment to organizational ends feed on each other to build an organizational climate of self-direction and enthusiasm.

We can abandon the Theory X assumptions on empirical grounds. No research finding about organizations has been reported more consistently than the fact that successful organizations foster the autonomy of work groups and highly productive individuals. No research on leader behavior has concluded that task-oriented leaders or leaders who emphasize initiating structure can succeed without equivalent attention to consideration. The research on merit pay shows ambiguous relationships between dollars and productivity, but the research on the influence of rewards and awards distributed broadly within organizations is not equivocal—that is a characteristic of effective organizations. Finally, research on the change process confirms the organizational findings. Successful innovations fit *people;* implementers must be involved in planning for implementation; implementers judge innovations on the basis of whether they will make the job more fulfilling.

Proposition 6:

> The effective leader of change has to play a complicated, unobtrusive role. Instead of inventing changes s/he should be discovering them in the organization. Instead of doubting the ability of individuals to change, s/he needs to support and nurture the process of change as it develops. Instead of manipulating the faculty to fit the organizational demand for change, she needs to ameliorate the organizational constraints that impede the growth of a changing organization for people.

Change and the Rational Organization

Parallel to the assumption about human nature proposed by McGregor are an equally basic and suffusive set of assump-

tions about the structural imperatives of organizations qua organizations. We may lampoon the concept of bureaucracy and the bureaucrat but most of us operate under assumptions about the organization as bureaucracy that are as firm in our belief systems as McGregor's assumptions supporting Theory X. These assumptions are derived from the postulations of Max Weber (Parsons, 1947) about the types and basis of legitimate authority and their application to administration, an application that resulted in the description of an ideal bureaucratic model. Weber asserted this "monocratic variety of bureaucracy is capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of carrying out imperative control over human beings" (p. 337). We will label the assumptions about organizations that are necessary to a Weberian ideal bureaucracy as Theory X' to link them loosely to the traditional view of behavior in organizations:

1. *Organizations are goal-directed*, i.e., they know where they are headed and how to assess their accomplishments.
2. *Organizations are rational* or at least boundedly rational. This purposiveness is reflected in their internal processes, e.g., intent precedes action, planning precedes doing. Choice occurs according to a set of established organizational preferences.
3. *Organizations are accountable* both in the sense that they account to clients and that, internally, responsibility is defined by designated position within the organizational hierarchy.
4. *Organizations are reliable and predictable.* They are reliable in the sense that similar events and interactions provoke similar responses across units, people, and time. Their predictability makes them susceptible to contemporary future studies and planning techniques.

We contend, as McGregor did in discussing Theory X, that these assumptions are alive and well as the basis on which most administrators and other employees think about the structural necessities of organizations. They live in the aphorisms we use in organizational conversation, e.g., the buck stops here, look before you leap, authority should be commensurate with responsibility, you can't get there if you don't know where you're going. They live in the technologies of administration, e.g., goal-consensus techniques, management by objectives, zero-based budgeting, job descriptions, organization charts. They are reflected in the first actions many administra-

tors, including deans, take after assuming a new position, e.g., reorganize, appoint a goals task force, set up a long-range planning committee.

Some theorists, McGregor and Argyris included, argue that reliance on a bureaucratic organizational form and highly structured internal control mechanisms is derivative from the Theory X assumptions about human behavior. Argyris (1971) argued explicitly that, "Management may have based the makeup of the organizational world on incorrect assumptions about human nature. Due to their power to make self-fulfilling prophecies they may have created a world in which the 'incorrect' assumptions actually became workable" (p. 10). Perhaps. We have no doubt but that Max Weber would have bought into Theory X as derivative from an appropriate set of assumptions undergirding bureaucratic theory, although in Weber's case the explicit assumptions on which he was operating actually dealt with sources of authority. However, our concern is that the structural assumptions of bureaucracy, whatever their origins, have taken on a life of their own. They are more than simply the logical derivative of Theory X. You can easily imagine an (X-X′) dean who carries both sets of assumptions to form her/his organizational paradigm. The assumptions do seem compatible. We would argue that it is equally easy to imagine a (Y-X′) dean. Many Theory Y administrators cannot imagine structural alternatives to the assumptions of X! They see the conflicts that arise between Theory Y and ordinary bureaucratic structures and treat them as just another instance of an organizational paradox. Apart from their Theory Y belief system, these individuals do not believe that an organization can function without a clear statement of goals, that individuals can report to multiple administrators, or that authority and responsibility are matters negotiated daily by organizational participants. They believe simultaneously in the integrity of the Theory Y and X′ assumptions.

So we would pose a seventh proposition that focuses on ways we think about the structure of organizations, to wit:

Proposition 7:

> Most deans accept the predominant view of the necessity of bureaucratic structure to maintain and improve their academic

unit. This paradigm for organization supports the concept of the strong leader with responsive followers in an organization that is planful, orderly, and under control. The bureaucratic paradigm, with all its refinements and adjustments, results ultimately in an organization that trades off the individual to the organization whenever tough choices have to be made.

Despite the aphoristic standing of the bureaucratic paradigm in American management, there are increasing numbers of theorists, researchers, and practitioners who provide evidence that things just don't work that way in real organizations. Or, worse yet, when they do, they work at the expense of the people in the organizations. These non-orthodox theorists deny the necessity of the core assumptions about organizational structure that were just stated. They would reframe the assumptions about organizational structure in a radical way:

1. *Organizations are process driven.* Of course organizations have goals. But the variety of goals they state, formally and informally, tell the observer little about what's going on. What seems more to the point is that organizations, or better yet the people in them, are doing things every hour of every day that are re-creating the organization for today and the future. Effective organizations are easier to identify by what they do than what they plan to do. This bias for action may, after the fact, be rationalized into goals.
2. *Organizations are settings for multiple interpretations and negotiations.* The notion that organizations function in a rational, behavioral mode attributes life to a creature that is empty. Action regularly precedes intent. Organizational rationality is more often retrospective than prospective, i.e., organizational members rationalize past actions into an appropriate present. Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972) described decision making in organizations as, ". . . sets of procedures through which participants arrive at an interpretation of what they are doing and what they have done while in the process of doing it" (p. 2). Organizations are more easily understood as negotiated cause maps than as organization charts, as sense making activities by individuals than as sets of rules and regulations, as muddling through rather than as management by objectives.
3. *Organizations are relational networks.* Karl Weick (1976) popularized the phrase 'loose coupling' to describe the ordinary stimulus-response patterns in organizations, i.e., gradual, occasional, eventual, and indirect. This view of organizational life redefines accountability. Organizational elements and individuals respond to clients and to one another in ways that are, over time, interpretable and responsible

though not accountable. The central point is that individuals concerned with the organization can understand these response patterns and modify them to some extent to fit their needs.

4. *Organizations are pattern-like.* Organizations are never well characterized by such phrases as reliability or predictability but they do repeat patterns and phases that are discernible to the observer. They are susceptible to thoughtful planning and analysis but not to technical planning tools and mechanical analytic devices. Organizational participants can learn more about their organization but the learning is likely to be orthogonal to the types of data gathered, analyzed, and distributed by management information systems.

In sum, the non-orthodox organizational theorists are proposing that we are not dealing with organizations that are goal-directed, rational, accountable, and predictable. We will label these counter-assumptions about organizations as Theory Y'. An administrator subscribing to these counter-assumptions would take lightly the trappings and techniques of traditional organizational structure. S/he would be more interested in understanding the organizational culture than redefining goals, in individual cause maps than job descriptions, in the relationships among individuals and units than the organization chart, and in the plans of organizational participants than the output of a planning task force. The reconstructed logic that has depicted organizations in our society is being challenged critically and gives rise to a provocative proposition:

Proposition 8:

> A new view of organizational structure has emerged over the past 10–15 years that challenges the validity and utility of the assumptions underlying the bureaucratic model. This alternative structural view fits more comfortably with the information that has been accumulated about the change process in organizations, research on effective patterns of leadership, and a Theory Y view of human nature.

Our guess is that the heritage from the assumptions supporting traditional organizational theory (i.e., Theory X') are equally troublesome to administrators who are attempting to effect organizational change as the assumptions undergirding Theory X. Argyris (1971) argued that the trip from Theory X Pattern A (the latter representing the behaviors likely to de-

rive from X) to Theory Y Pattern B is not an easy one. We believe one of the basic reasons this is so is because of the rigid structural paradigm held by all the participants in the process.

Organizational Types and the Change Process

On the very first page we asked why there was such a gap between what we know about the change process and what we seem to be able to apply in our organizations. Consider this proposition as an answer:

Proposition 9:

> Most deans and faculty members in SCDEs share an organizational view that incorporates the assumptions of Theory X and Theory X'. Those who have been able to move to a human resource management view of people in organizations, i.e., to Theory Y, are still stymied by their traditional view of the necessary assumptions about organizational structure. Theory X and X' assumptions about people and organizations are embedded in our personal and professional backgrounds but are not congruent with the conditions necessary for a highly innovative organization.

Earlier in the paper we related Theory X assumptions to the organizational conditions needed to sustain the change process. Precisely the same argument can be made about the assumptions of Theory X'. If one were to combine the assumptions of Theory X and X' and Y and Y', the tactics that would make sense in the change process are clear.

The arguments we have already made about the conditions necessary to support the change process in organizations obviously conform more closely to the Y-Y' tactics:

1. Reliance on individuals (product champions) and work groups within the organization as the source of new ideas and change.
2. Involvement of personnel in planning for the implementation of change.
3. Provision of resources and slack time to support change efforts.
4. Creation of safe places to work on change—what Peters and Waterman (1984) referred to as skunk works in which innovators tackle the new.
5. Patience in trying out new ideas—anticipation that early trials will flounder and the innovation may need to be restructured again and again.

Table 1

Change Tactics Appropriate to (X – X') and (Y – Y') Assumptions About Organizations

X – X' Tactics	*Y – Y' Tactics*
1. Leader-initiated and controlled	1a. Leader-facilitated and supported
2. Centralized responsibility for change	2a. Diffused responsibility for change
3. Planning and implementation integrated with the organization's line function	3a. Planning and implementation disassociated from the organization's central line function
4. A priori specification of goals	4a. Development of goals in process
5. Goal-based monitoring and evaluation	5a. Process assessment, goal-free evaluation
6. Program and resource evaluation and review	6a. Scheduled slack time and waste resources
7. Delegation of authority commensurate with responsibility	7a. Retention of responsibility, shared authority
8. Focus on major comprehensive trials	8a. Stimulation of multiple trials

6. Willingness to accept responsibility for changes that fail while delegating authority to change teams that are working with innovations.

This leads us to a tenth proposition:

Proposition 10:

- The evidence about strategies and tactics for change that work in organizations is unambiguous.
- Organizational leaders are unable to use these data effectively because of their acceptance of assumptions about people and organizations that are neither necessary nor sufficient.

Conclusion

At the risk of relying on conjecture rather than evidence, and exhortation rather than argumentation, we are going to close with some general counsel we think is consistent with the assumptions of Theory Y and Y' as they relate to organizational change:

1. Believe in yourself but don't take yourself too seriously. You can support the conditions for change in your SCDE but you cannot dominate or control the change process.
2. Just as in the generic admonition that followership empowers the leader, followership determines the scope and success of change ventures.
3. Organizational structure and organizational goals seldom have anything to do with organizational change. Do something and the structure and goals will fall into place.
4. Almost nothing changes all at once or pervasively. Anything requiring the ratification and participation of the faculty as a whole is unlikely to occur. Atomization, not integration, is the friend of change.
5. You can't change on a shoestring. Resource deprivation does not promote innovation. To the contrary, it heightens fear, lowers self-efficacy, and provokes withdrawal.
6. The best way to build a change-oriented SCDE is to stimulate trials. Organizations learn how to change by changing. A bias for action is a bias toward change.
7. You must find and nurture your intra-organizational change agents. They are the key to organizational creativity.
8. The credit for successful change must be laid at the door of the inventers and implementers; the blame must be assumed by the administration.
9. No change is ever necessary or imperative—and certainly not now! Successful change agents are opportunists, not true believers.
10. Gathering evidence about the effects of change is not of sufficient importance to subvert the trial itself.
11. Change has to be based on organizational strength. In the volatile change process period, self-efficacy is imperative. Organizational weaknesses have to be shored up before a change effort is mounted.

The process of organizational change is just that, a process. No specific product of change will justify tearing the organization apart for its achievement. As a designated leader in a school of education the most you can hope to do is provide the organization with encouragement, insight, and support to innovate. The heritage you can leave to the organization is the experience of learning to try.

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IX

DISSEMINATING EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR A WORKABLE PROCESS[1]

Craig H. Blakely
James S. Fairweather

Education in the 1980s is the focal point of a variety of social, political, economic, and demographic pressures, which have combined to press for change in our educational institutions. Among these pressures are: concern about a 15-year decline in standardized test scores (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1984; Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education, 1984); declining enrollments, resulting in a temporary oversupply of teachers and the closing of many schools (Grant & Eiden, 1982; Plisko, 1984); recent projections of a critical shortage of mathematics and science teachers, indeed of all teachers, by the end of the decade (Frankel & Gerald, 1982); and the decline in teacher salaries (relative to inflation) as well as the status of the teaching profession, making it more difficult to attract top students into teaching and to keep good teachers from moving into business and industry (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1984). In addition, educators today are confronted with how to take advantage of the powerful, perhaps revolutionary, new interactive technologies, some of which have the potential to increase learning dramatically.

The consequences of these pressures are now coming to the forefront. State departments of education more and more frequently are faced with preparing and implementing gradu-

ation standards for secondary school. Teacher training institutions are being asked to recruit and retain more and better students for the teaching profession. School and school district administrators are struggling to develop incentives for retaining their best teachers, especially those in technical fields. And teachers ("the buck stops here") are asked to improve student performance by learning to use technology effectively and by changing their practices in light of research findings on effective teaching.

In effect, educators are being asked either to develop and implement innovative programs or to implement existing innovative programs (developed elsewhere) effectively. In this paper, we focus on the latter problem wherein educators are asked to take a "demonstrated effective" program and use it in their schools and classrooms. We are especially concerned with this problem because newly developed programs, rigorously evaluated as demonstration projects, are often not implemented on a large scale and, consequently, never have a significant effect on broader educational issues (Rappaport, 1977; Fairweather, Tornatzky, Fergus, & Avellar, 1982).

In this paper, we address the concepts of fidelity, adaptation or reinvention, routinization, and the implications of these components of the change process for effectiveness. Next, we summarize the findings of a recently completed national study of disseminated educational innovations. Finally, we discuss the implications of these findings for American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) members, who as innovators and as users of educational innovations are interested in ensuring that teachers and administrators are sufficiently prepared to benefit from current and future educational innovations.

Historical Perspective

The classical Research, Development and Diffusion (RD&D) model of change, which was extremely popular among federal policymakers in the 1960s and 1970s, underlies most technology transfer and dissemination operations (Havelock, 1969, 1976). At the heart of the RD&D model is the development of programs that are subjected to rigorous validation efforts (i.e.,

demonstration projects). In this model, a new program or process (e.g., an innovative educational technology) is first developed and piloted, with close attention paid to the evaluation of its impacts and outcomes. Next, if efficacy and efficiency are demonstrated, the innovation is made available to potential adopting organizations (e.g., schools and school districts). Once adopted, this classical model assumes that the beneficial outcomes of the innovation accrue to the organization and its clientele (Fairweather & Tornatzky, 1977).

The classical RD&D model assumed a "build a better mousetrap" model of innovation and organizational change. That is, users were assumed to consider evaluation results to be important in their decisions to adopt and use new programs and procedures. It was further assumed that implementation of the innovation proceeds almost automatically once the decision to adopt is made.

More recent research, however, indicates that implementation is far from automatic. Berman and McLaughlin, among others, found that the implementation of educational innovations is influenced by local organizational characteristics and by the interaction between these local characteristics and the innovation (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; Eveland, Rogers, and Klepper, 1977; Farrar, deSanctis, & Cohen, 1979; Fullan & Pomfret, 1977; and House, Kerins, and Steele, 1972). This later research has led to the reconceptualization of the classical RD&D model to incorporate and account for local influences (we call this the modified RD&D model).[2] One excellent example of a modified RD&D approach in practice is the National Diffusion Network (NDN). NDN incorporates the central tenet of the classical model, namely that scientifically rigorous evaluation is required prior to largescale dissemination. Dissemination, however, has been broadened to include active strategies, such as reliance on state and regional change agents, innovation awareness sessions, developer sponsored training sessions, and site visits by adopters to demonstration sites.

Another alternative model, which also has a strong following, is to rely on a decentralized, local problem solving approach (we call this the pro-adaptation model). This model assumes the success or failure of dissemination of an innovation

results from local behaviors. We discuss these alternative models and their implications for educators in the following sections.

The Modified RD&D and the Pro-Adaptation Models

The major shared components of the modified RD&D and the pro-adaptation models are:

- the *adaptation or reinvention* of the model innovation during local implementation;
- the *effectiveness* of the replication given the criteria on which the demonstration program was developed;
- the continuing operation or *routinization* of the program at the replicating site.

In addition, the modified RD&D model stresses the importance of maintaining the *fidelity* of the replication, whereas the pro-adaptation model stresses the importance of local adaptation. These four concepts—fidelity, reinvention, effectiveness, and routinization—are discussed below.

Fidelity

Fidelity concerns the degree to which an innovation, as implemented at an adopting site, is similar to the innovation as it was disseminated. The single most significant debate in the implementation literature in the last decade has centered on the desirability of high fidelity replications. Those advocating high fidelity believe that new innovative programs consist of a number of well specified or at least specifiable components, and that successful use of these innovations in other locations requires that the innovations be implemented in a manner that closely mirrors the prototype program (Boruch & Gomez, 1977; Calsyn, Tronatzky, & Dittmar, 1977; Hall & Loucks, 1978; Sechrest & Redner, 1978). Alternatively, those advocating an adaptation position (i.e., the "pro-adaptors") argue that differing organizational contexts and teacher and administrator needs demand on-site modification of innovations virtually without exception (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; House et al., 1972). The pro-adaptors claim that the more a program user modifies the model to fit local needs, the greater the level of

program effectiveness.[3] Thus, an extremely important issue in the discussion of the dissemination of innovative educational programs is the relationship or lack thereof between program fidelity and program effectiveness at adopting/replicating sites.

Pro-adaptation research indicates that high fidelity implementation is rare (e.g., Berman & McLaughlin, 1978). Some policy analysts have suggested that this is attributable to "specification failure" (Data 1981; Slavin & Hollisfield, 1983); that is, the pilot program is not well defined at the outset, which makes it difficult to replicate the program in local organizations.

Reinvention

The term "reinvention" was introduced by Rogers and his colleagues to capture the flavor of an active process of change in an organizational setting where an innovation is being adopted (e.g., Eveland et al., 1977; Rice & Rogers, 1979). Reinvention brings to mind the phrase "not invented here," commonly used to reject the ideas of others simply because they originated elsewhere. Thus, it is frequently observed that new ideas are reinvented locally in order to allow for a sense of program ownership.

Although many adaptation proponents would suggest that the degree of reinvention should necessarily be high and that it should, by the very nature of local needs, be linked to more effective and more routinized implementations, we prefer to distinguish reinvention from lack of fidelity (Blakely et al., 1984; Roitman & Mayer, 1982). Thus, in addition to "local adaptation," reinvention could include the *addition* of a program component to an existing innovation which does not affect the other aspects of the program. This would provide a new aspect of a program which in no way interfered with or affected the operation of the original program components. Reinvention could also include the *modification* of a component of an innovative program without changing its original function.

Effectiveness

Because the innovation and change process is ostensibly driven by an initial need, effectiveness of the innovation in

meeting this need is crucial. For example, a school or school district considering the adoption of a new compensatory reading program is presumably doing so because they feel a need to improve the reading capabilities of a group of students that currently are not adequately served. Before implementing a new reading program, educators would require that the programs being considered be demonstrated effective in improving students' reading scores. A measure of the effectiveness of the innovation as operated at a new site, therefore, is whether the impact on reading abilities at the local adopting site is similar to the effect found at the original site.

Routinization

Routinization refers to the degree to which an innovation has become part of the normal, daily operating routine within the organizational context. Also referred to as institutionalization (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978), durability (Glasser & Backer, 1977, 1980), and incorporation (Yin, 1979). Routinization and its determinants long have been a focus of research on innovations.

Yin (1979) has done much of the pioneering work in developing the concept of routinization. He found that the process of routinization consists of a series of passages and cycles[4] that take place in three stages. In the *improvisation* phase, the innovation is introduced into the organizational setting. During the *expansion* phase, moderate routinization has taken place as the innovation completes several passages and cycles. In the final phase, *disappearance*, a total integration of the innovation into the standard operating procedures of the organization occurs. At this point, the program is no longer viewed as innovative or new to the organization, but is considered part of the ongoing daily routine. It is likely to remain in this status until replaced with another, presumably better, alternative.

Summary

The principal debate in the literature on innovation centers on the desirability of high fidelity implementations. Those advocating the pro-fidelity perspective have argued that:

- innovations are typically evaluated and disseminated as a whole.
- the contribution of individual program components are rarely noted during innovation validation efforts.
- the innovation can be best represented by the proverbial "black box," which means that tinkering with individual components at an adopting site will unknowingly dilute the effectiveness of the program.

Proponents of the pro-adaptation perspective, on the other hand, have argued that:

- local adopters have a better understanding of the organizational, social, political, and economic factors related to local use of the innovation.
- the greater the local adaptation, the greater is the likelihood that the "not-invented-here" syndrome will be countered and routinization will become more probable. The adopter should be encouraged to adapt the innovation to the demands of the local mileau.

A more radical strategy, which is a variant on the pro-adaptation model, argues for general, untargeted support of local innovation rather than the provision of funds for the development of innovation blueprints suitable for dissemination. An excellent example of this philosophy in practice is the educational block grant (Chapter 2) that provides for considerable local autonomy and flexibility.

The Research

Goals

In 1981, we initiated a National Science Foundation (NSF) supported study of the innovation/dissemination/implementation process based on the premise that the modified RD&D model of organizational change had not been subjected to an adequate test and that current policy decisions favoring a move away from this change model (i.e., toward the pro-adaptation model) were not empirically based. By comparing the relative effectiveness of the modified RD&D and the pro-adaptation models of dissemination, we intended to determine how local adopters could implement an innovation in a manner that would achieve desired objectives while taking local constraints into account.

To accomplish these goals, we selected for study two primary users of the modified RD&D approach,[5] the National Diffusion Network (NDN), for exemplary educational programs, and the National Institute of Justice's Exemplary Projects Program (NIJ). We gathered printed information on the approximately 150 NDN programs and 35 NIJ programs. Several criteria were used to select the specific innovations studied:

- The innovation had to have been subjected to a reasonably rigorous evaluation process.
- The outcome criteria used to validate the innovation should allow for the collection of comparable data from adopting sites.
- There should be a strong probability of the existence of a sufficient number of replicates to provide for a reasonable sample of adopters to study.
- The innovation should have been in an active dissemination phase for several years to allow for the observation of routinization at replicating sites.
- The innovation should require organization-wide innovation components so that we could observe organizational adoption rather than individual adoption. In other words, we were not interested in observing innovations that could be adopted by a single teacher, independent of others in the school district.

Ultimately, we identified three educational and four criminal justice programs that fit the above criteria. Table 1 provides a brief description of each of the innovations studied.

Identification of Adopters

We gathered information about adopters and potential adopters from the innovation developers to identify probable sites for observation. The quality of this information ranged from detailed notebooks about adopters to scraps of paper from telephone contacts requesting information about the innovation from the developer. Telephone calls were directed to these potential adopters to determine the presence of a replicate, the link to the initial developer, and the willingness to participate in the study. We selected a random sample of sites that took into account the geographic location and age of the replicate, and the preliminary fidelity scores (see below). We ultimately selected 10 adopters within each of the seven innovation categories (a total of 70 sites) for data collection.

Table 1

Innovative Social Programs Selected for Study

Education

1. *HOSTS (Help One Student to Succeed)*—A diagnostic, prescriptive, tutorial reading program for children in grades 2–6. Tutors are community volunteers and cross-age students. The program includes "pulling out" students from their regular classes at least ½ hour per day.
2. *EBCE (Experience-Based Career Education)*—This program provides career experience outside of school at volunteer field sites for the student. Each career site is systematically analyzed for its educational potential. Students' career and academic abilities and interests are systematically assessed. Individualized learning plans that integrate career experiences and academic learning are utilized. Programs typically take students from grades 11–12, although some also accept students from grades 9–10.
3. *FOCUS (Focus Dissemination Project)*—A "school within a school" for disaffected junior and senior high school students. All students are required to participate in a support/problem-solving group of 8–10 students and one teacher. Behavioral contracting and a governing board with student representatives are important features. Classes in the FOCUS program involve individualized, self-paced instruction.

Criminal Justice

4. *ODOT (One Day/One Trial)*—A jury management system that calls in a certain number of potential jurors per day. Potential jurors come in for that day and, if not selected to serve in a trial, have completed their obligation. Jurors who are selected serve the length of the trial.
5. *CAP (Community Arbitration Project)*—Juvenile offenders are sent to a formal arbitration hearing run by the court intake division, rather than to court. Juveniles have the specific consequences of their actions explained to them with parents and victims frequently present at hearings. Youths are then typically given a number of hours of informal supervision, usually involving work in the community. Restitution is also frequently required.
6. *SCCPP (Seattle Community Crime Prevention Program)*—This program is a three-phase attack on residential burglary. It involves the setting up of a neighborhood block watch through proactive targeting of neighborhoods, property marking and inventory, and home security inspections.
7. *MCPRC (Montgomery County Pre-Release Center)*—Involves the setting up of residential facility separate from the prison. This facility should be in the community from which most of the inmates are drawn. Inmates are encouraged to work so that they will have a job when they are released. Counseling, social awareness instruction, and behavioral contracting are also part of this program.

Data Collection and Measurement

Fidelity

The fidelity assessment process mirrored the pioneering work completed by Hall and his colleagues at the University of Texas Research and Development Center (e.g., Hall & Loucks, 1978). Research team members visited the sites where the innovations were originally developed and tested. In an attempt to replicate the process that a potential adopter would experience, project staff talked with developers and their clientele (e.g., students, juvenile delinquents, jurors), taped interviews, listened to the standard adoption lectures, witnessed or participated in training exercises, and gathered available documentation.

We then carried out a content analysis to construct a list of program components that were observable, discrete, innovation specific, and exhaustively descriptive of the innovation. On the basis of systematic observation, we were also able to develop a series of variations for each component that could be rated as existing at an "ideal", "acceptable", or "unacceptable" level. Program component lists ranged in number from 60 to 100. Example components are included in Table 2.

Reinvention

Reinvention is a construct that has not been operationalized well in the literature. In this study, the research staff took note of any activity, procedure, material, or facility that did not fit within the framework of the innovation components and/or their variations. Extensive notes were taken during and immediately following visits to adopting sites. These were coded into instances of reinvention which involved (1) modifications of program components or (2) additions to the model. A *modification* represents a change in component variations that falls within the bounds of the intent of the component but outside the bounds defined by the developers. For example, suppose we are studying a piece of mathematics software that uses drill-and-practice exercises on a microcomputer and we find an adopting site that has printed a number of copies of the drill-and-practice exercises and uses these copies rather than the microcomputer software. This would be an example of a modi-

Table 2

Examples of Fidelity Items (Components and Scaled Variations)

Example # 1: Component 48, Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE).

48. Career site: Resource person (employer) commitment.

I Resource people are asked to make specific commitments regarding the specific learning experiences offered at the career site.

A Resource people are asked to make more general commitments regarding the general kinds of learning experiences offered at the career site.

U Resource people are not asked to make any commitments regarding the learning experiences offered at the career site.

Example #2: Component 38, Community Arbitration Program (CAP).

38. Victim reports on the incident and what they would like the hearing outcome to be.

I Victim reports on what they saw and what they would like the hearing outcome to be.

A Victim ONLY reports on what s/he saw OR what s/he would like the hearing outcome to be.

U Victim reports neither what s/he saw nor what s/he would like the hearing outcome to be.

Example #3: Component 58, FOCUS (educational program for disaffected youth).

58. Hourly attendance is taken.

I Hourly attendance is taken for all students.

A Hourly attendance is taken only for those students who the teacher feels are an attendance problem.

U Hourly attendance is not taken for any student.

Example #4: Component 65, Montgomery County Pre-Release Center.

65. Teams discuss both new and contining cases at meetings.

I At regular team meetings, staff reviews all current cases and the start of new cases in depth.

A At regular team meetings, staff reviews the starts of new cases, all continuing cases with significant changes, and as many other continuing cases as time allows.

U At regular team meetings, staff spends little time reviewing current cases with significant changes and focuses primarily on new cases.

NOTE: The following scale is used for all components:
I (ideal) = 2; A (acceptable) = 1; and
U (unacceptable) = 0.

fication (i.e., the drill-and-practice exercises are being carried out, but not in the manner envisioned by the developers). On the other hand, an *addition* represents a change that goes beyond the bounds of the component itself. Using the mathematics example again, an adopting site that included individualized tutoring with the program would represent an additional activity that goes beyond the bounds defined by the developers' list of program components.

Effectiveness

To assess the effectiveness of each replicate, we gathered the available information related to the criteria originally used to evaluate the developer's model. For example, the evaluation criteria for the HOSTS reading program included NCE gain scores on nationally norm-referenced reading achievement tests (e.g., California Achievement Test, Gates McGinitie, Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills). The Experienced Based Career Education program criteria included student scores on the New Mexico Career Planning Test and Northwest Regional Labs Career Exploration Survey. The quality of this outcome measure varied considerably by site (both across and within innovation type). Given this variability, we were unwilling to ascribe all of the assumptions of interval scales to this data. Consequently, we created ordinal rank orders of outcome data within each innovation type. Thus, innovation specific criteria were developed and used to rank order each replicate within innovation.

Routinization

Instruments were developed and administered to various staff during site visits to assess two aspects of routinization. The first was based on Yin's (1979) definition of incorporation. All interviewed staff were asked to project how long they felt the innovation would be retained by the organization. Thus, expected longevity scores were available for each adopting organization as total scores or by staff role groups. Secondly, we developed an index of longevity to assess the convergence of staff reports of expected longevity. A series of dichotomously coded items were created that represented the presence or absence of Yin's passages and cycles. Total scores (number of pas-

sages or cycles achieved) reflected the degree to which the adopted innovation had been incorporated into the daily operating routine at the new site.

Research Findings

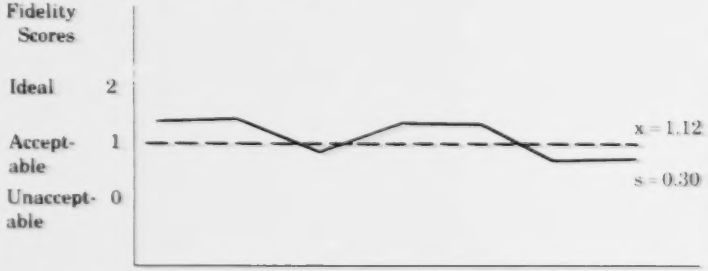
Recall that we were interested in the policy relevant question of the viability of the modified RD&D model *vis a vis* the pro-adaptation model, and the related implications for organizations such as AACTE. The modified RD&D model suggests that fidelity should be related to effectiveness, but much of the literature suggests that this assumption is unwarranted and that high fidelity replicates are hard to find.

Our data suggest that innovations disseminated through the modified RD&D model were implemented within acceptable bounds of fidelity. Figure 1 shows the fidelity curve for all seven of the innovations observed. None of the means were significantly different than a score of 1, or acceptable. It could also be argued that this is a conservative estimate since the fidelity scores are based on the program developers' ownership perspective.

A second research issue focused on the degree of routinization observed in these seven innovations across replication

Figure 1

Mean Item Average Fidelity Scores



	*HOSTS**	*EBCE*	*FOCUS*	*ODOT*	*CAP*	*SCCPP*	*MCPRC*
mean	1.36	1.38	0.94	1.29	1.21	0.86	0.86
s.d.	0.16	1.26	0.22	0.18	0.23	0.27	0.18

*See Table 1 for an explanation of acronyms.

sites. Overall, these programs demonstrated a moderate degree of incorporation. Nearly three-fourths of the programs were in the expansion phase, suggesting a moderate degree of routinization according to Yin's conceptualization (1979).

Third, and most critical for our discussion here, are the relationships among the major observed implementation variables. Table 3 presents a correlation matrix of these variables. The prominent finding is the strong and positive relationship between fidelity and effectiveness, suggesting that fidelity does relate to effective replicates. However, those advocating the pro-adaptation perspective could argue that a strong reinvention/effectiveness relationship was observed as well. Thus, it appears that fidelity and reinvention were occurring simultaneously. At first, these results seemed to both support and contradict a pro-fidelity position. However, because our definition of reinvention included both additions and modifications, additional partial correlations were conducted to sort out the major contributions to program effectiveness.

As shown in Table 4, the partial correlation between fidelity and effectiveness, holding reinvention constant, was positive and significant. In fact, it was nearly of the same magnitude as the zero order correlation. On the other hand, the partial correlation between reinvention and effectiveness, holding fidelity constant, indicated no relationship at all. Thus, fidelity appears to make the more important contribution to effectiveness.

When addition and modification indices of reinvention were observed separately, it was indeed additive reinvention that related to more effective innovation replicates (see Table

Table 3

Correlations Among Implementation Variables

		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
1	Fidelity	—					
2	Reinvention	52*	—				
3	Effectiveness	38*	33*	—			
4	Longevity	01	01	13	—		
5	Passage/Cycle	08	01	03	12	—	
6	Perceived Longevity	01	12	14	09	09	—

*Significant at the .01 level.

Table 4

Partial Correlations Among Implementation Variables

Variable 1	*Variable 2*	*Holding Constant*	*Partial Corr*
Fidelity	Effectiveness	Reinvention	.26*
Reinvention	Effectiveness	Fidelity	.17
Addition	Effectiveness	Fidelity	.26*
Modification	Effectiveness	Fidelity	.01
Addition	Effectiveness	Modification	.38**
Modification	Effectiveness	Addition	−.09

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Significant at the .01 level.

4). While additions were positively and significantly related to effectiveness, modifications were not significantly related to program effectiveness. Further, holding modification constant, there remained a significant positive relationship between addition and effectiveness. Similar analyses with instances of modification failed to yield any significant findings.

Surprisingly, none of the relationships between the two indicators of routinization and the other variables were significant. Of particular interest was the relationship between reinvention and routinization, which purportedly would reflect "a sense of ownership." Although "sense of ownership" proponents would suggest that a strong positive relationship between reinvention and routinization exists, the results of this study do not support this position.

Finally, we did not find significant relationships between incorporation and expected longevity, which supports Yin's contention that program age and passage-and-cycle achievement are not directly tied. In addition, there was not a strong relationship between routinization and effectiveness, which fails to support suggestions that program effectiveness is a critical component of longevity or incorporation.

Implications for AACTE

With the current state of fiscal constraint imposed upon the schools, it is imperative that educators and administrators make sound decisions about their new curricula and program

decisions. Given the current pressures to change and "make education better," these research results show that educators are well advised to attempt to implement an already-proven innovation in the manner conceived by the original developer. Also, when local adaptation is necessary, additions to the program are preferable to modification in the substance.

We also recommend that innovations be developed and evaluated in a manner that facilitates the exchange of information between developers and adopters. We must go beyond the question of "Did the innovation produce the desired results?" and ask the question "What was it about the innovation that produced the desired results?" To allow adopters (e.g., school teachers and administrators) to make educated decisions about which program components should or should not be modified to fit with local constraints, empirical evaluations about the critical nature of specific innovation components must be available. Such specification will enhance fidelity with respect to core program components and maximize effectiveness at replicating sites. Guidelines for implementation should detail these specific links to effectiveness. To coin a phrase used by a behavioral social worker, Richard Stuart, "rules create freedom" (Stuart, 1973). By this we mean that an adopting organization will be "free" to make the best decision about how to implement a program when it knows the consequences of its decision *a priori*. By identifying the link between innovation components and program effectiveness and specifying these decision rules, the innovation developer is freeing the adopter to make the best implementation decisions.

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Notes

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[2]This position is remarkably similar to the linkage model outlined by Havelock (1969).

[3]Many prominent pro-adaptation studies have involved the dissemination of more broadly defined policy initiatives (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; Rice & Rogers, 1980), rather than clear programmatic activities with identifiable components. This might account for some of the differences between research findings.

[4]Passages are one time events in the life of an innovative program (e.g., the transition from soft to hard funds, the institutionalization of training and inservice procedures, the attainment of widespread use within the organization). Cycles are events that an innovative program could pass through on numerous occasions (e.g., the survival of the innovation following the turnover or promotion of key personnel, the stabilization of budget cycles).

[5]By studying the importance of fidelity, we were able to compare the modified RD&D model (which emphasizes the importance of routinization, reinvention, and fidelity) and pro-adaptation model (which incorporates routinization and reinvention, but which deemphasizes the importance of fidelity).

X

SCHOOL REFORM: JOINING CONTEXT AND COMMITMENT

Bernard R. Gifford

It has been nearly two years since the National Commission on Excellence issued its landmark report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). Since then, the nation has witnessed a tidal wave of reports and studies assessing the quality of the nation's public elementary and secondary schools. So much so that, today, there are few sectors in our economy as vibrant as the business of generating advice on how to improve the schools. In spite of the large number of actors involved in this rapidly expanding field, the product of all of this labor has been surprisingly homologous. Nearly every panel, commission and task force has reached the identical conclusion: the nation's elementary and secondary schools are in deep trouble and, as a result, our social, political and economic liberties are in serious jeopardy. It is these very troubled schools, it is argued in these reports, that must shoulder an even larger share of the responsibility for protecting the nation from its political and military adversaries. They must lead the way in the task of infusing the nation's lagging productive capacity with better trained, more efficient workers; and play a major role in helping the nation to redefine its goals, at a time of increasing racial and ethnic diversity and rapid social change. To underscore their findings and to secure attention in an increasingly crowded field, many school reviewers and evaluators, departing from the tradition of couching findings and recommendations in empty, bland language, have deployed rather unorthodox and blunt language to convey their admonitions to the American polity. Long after its

recommendations have been forgotten, the following comments of The National Commission on Excellence will be remembered:

> The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people. What was unimaginable a generation ago has begun to occur—others are matching and surpassing our educational attainments. (p. 5)
>
> If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. As it stands, we have allowed this to happen to ourselves. We have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge. Moreover, we have dismantled essential support systems which helped make those gains possible. We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament. (p. 5)

The debate, stimulated by *A Nation at Risk*, continues. The concatenation of voices calling for school change and educational reform has now reached a level where it is no longer merely part of the background noise of everyday political discourse. The level of public awareness of the problems confronting education is so high that no self-respecting politician would dare remain in the political arena without the protective covering of a "comprehensive position paper" on school reform. Needless to say, after a long period of relative neglect, those involved in education have welcomed this new attention, even where attention has not always been accompanied by informed cogitation. More significantly, in terms of its implications for policy changes, it is clear that at least three consensus suggestions have emerged from the din of the great school debate launched by *A Nation at Risk*. Consensus being a rare commodity in any area of public life in these commodious times, these suggestions deserve a full and thoughtful analysis. In keeping with the spirit of the times, however, rather than adding to the accord, I am going to add to the din. I will mention these three suggestions only in passing. Instead, I will be focusing my comments on an area of concern that seems to have escaped the scrutiny of many of the recent evaluators of American education: the need to take a hard look at the role, purpose and activities of programs of professional educational studies and, in light of their influence on the education enter-

prise, especially those programs based in our nation's leading research universities. This oversight, I will argue, not only denies the polity a well-rounded picture of all of the forces that impinge on education and impede educational reform, but it also ignores a potentially effective force for change and reform. First, however, let us quickly review the three suggestions on which consensus has been reached.

Consensus and Policy: Friends and Enemies

More than any other problem, the one deficiency that has been recognized and addressed by all of the groups that have reviewed the schools has been the failure of state education departments and local school districts to formulate, promote and enforce clear and coherent curriculum standards. More specifically, it has been argued that the current curriculum of most school districts fails to promote and support student acquisition of skills in the areas of reading, writing, speaking, listening, observing, measuring, estimating and calculating. In more concrete terms, this concern over curriculum standards has manifested itself in the form of demands that, as a prerequisite for graduation, all high school students be required to complete a minimum amount of course work in English, mathematics, science and language studies (Alder, 1982). For example, the National Commission on Excellence has recommended that every student seeking a high school diploma be required to take four years of English, three years each of mathematics, science and social studies and a half-year course in computer science. Two years study of a foreign language is "strongly recommended" for college-bound students.

A second issue that seems to have generated widespread support is the call for the strengthening of the teaching profession through a variety of means, including: the development of more rigorous standards for selecting students entering teacher training programs; the use of examinations to test the skills and competencies of prospective teachers prior to their initial employment; the introduction of differential pay scales, or salary supplements for teachers who have demonstrated outstanding instructional leadership skills; and, last but certainly not least, the easing of the regulatory burden placed on school district officials attempting to discipline or discharge

teachers who, as evidenced by objective evaluation methods, are found to be lacking required professional skills or, worse yet, are found to be incompetent. In addition to these reforms, all addressing the circumstances and conditions of the teaching profession, a number of study groups have also recommended that the teacher's work year be extended to eleven months, permitting school districts to require teachers to demonstrate proof of continuing professional development, through attendance at specified workshops and seminars, curriculum development projects or formal course work at the graduate level.

The third recommendation that seems to have won widespread support is the call for a new social contract between students and their teachers. This new contract would be manifested in the form of a new set of academic performance expectations and a return to a more structured and formal relationship between the student, the school, the university and the community. Recommendations in this area call upon the schools to make specific academic demands on their students, to reduce the number of student-initiated academic offerings, and to establish and enforce stricter codes of personal behavior. Additionally, calls for lengthening the school day by an hour and extending the school year by one to two months have also been made. Similarly, colleges are called upon to use their powers of influence through the establishment of more coherent entrance and exit standards. Finally, local communities are called on to rigorously monitor and evaluate student performance in the schools.

Surely, advocates of school change and reform have been correct in focusing most of their energies on the central importance of establishing a strong curriculum, the crucial role that capable teachers must play in any plan for real school improvement, and the need to establish a new relationship between the student, the school and other important institutions, including colleges and universities. And who can argue with the call for more community monitoring of school performance? After all, in addition to all of their other obligations, schools are social institutions, reflecting the values and priorities of their surrounding communities. Effective monitoring efforts, especially when tempered with sensitivity to the complexity of

the teaching, learning and schooling process, cannot help but result in closer and more productive relationships between the schools, their surrounding communities and the larger polity.

Nevertheless, when summed up, all of these disparate calls for change, on multiple fronts and at the same time, resemble a kind of sand castle. As macro-policy changes in new curriculum requirements, new student academic performance expectations, the nature and the structure of the teaching profession, the organization of the schools, and in the relationship between schools and the larger community are translated into a multitude of micro-policies, targeted to benefit particular student populations and designed to achieve subject-specific learning objectives, the pedagogic objectives of schooling become more expansive, more complex and more conflicting. As micro-policy is piled upon micro-policy, as demands and expectations mount up, as the gap between experience and expectation increases, the likelihood that the broad consensus that currently exists will erode also increases. This is true, unless, of course, passionate advocacy for school reform is joined with an equally dispassionate analysis of the inescapable contradictions that result when so many suggestions for reform are being put forth by so many different actors, with so many diverse perspectives and preferences.

Even if advocacy is joined with analysis and, in turn, this merger of passion with diagnosis results in a new policy synthesis on what must be done to increase pupil learning, there remains the possibility that the gap between experience and expectation will continue to widen, yielding even greater disappointment over the performance of the schools. This would occur in the case where expectations of improvements in pupil outcomes increase at a faster pace than the rate of real improvements in this crucial area. Under these conditions, where the educational community might be doing better but ends up feeling worse, public support for school reform efforts could evaporate, stripping would-be school reformers of needed public support. To avoid this outcome, a careful balance between expectation and experience must be maintained—an admonition, it must be admitted, that is easier to articulate than to achieve.

The possibility that the current reformist wave, accom-

panied by a plethora of attendant new policy initiatives, could be swiftly followed by a policy collapse will come as no surprise to those who have studied previous cycles of school reform.

If we have learned nothing else from past waves of educational reform, especially the post-Sputnick period of school change attempts, it is this: policies produce unanticipated and unintended consequences. The more policies that are being implemented at any given moment, the greater the density of unexpected consequences. These consequences can overwhelm, and in some instances undercut, the goals of reform and improvement undergirding the original policy initiative. Aaron Wildavsky calls this phenomenon the "Law of Large Solutions in Public Policy". His remedy for occasions where policy solutions threatened to dwarf the original problem as a source of worry merits attention:

> The way to solve large social problems is to keep them small, because as problems grow, solutions create their own effects, which gradually displace the original difficulty. I do not say that large problems have no solutions or that small solutions are always preferable but only that big problems usually generate solutions so large that they become the dominant cause of the consequences with which public policy must contend.
>
> The larger the problem the less that can be done about it. Moreover, because so many people are implicated in large problems, counteraction demands support from those who think they gain from the status quo. The greater the population involved in a policy problem, the greater the proportion of the policy space occupied by a supposed solution, the harder it is to find a solution that will not become its own worst problem. (p. 63)

Given the large "size" of many school reforms currently under consideration, the conflicting nature of some of these proposed reforms and the limited capacity of the schools to "absorb" all of the reforms that are being proposed, the likelihood that the current wave of school change efforts will end up falling victim to Wildavsky's Law of Large Solutions is a real possibility—one that cannot be casually considered, nor lightly dismissed. Consider the problems created in trying to reconcile the following policy objectives: the demand that teachers behave more professionally by assuming greater responsibility over instructional decision making with the demand that state superintendents of instruction, as well as leadership at the school district level, issue more definitive (and thus more

professionally restrictive) curriculum guidelines and standards; the demand that schools become more responsive to the individual needs of pupils with diverse learning styles and, thus, unique instructional needs, with the demand that elective studies, many of them placed in the curriculum as a result of teachers attempting to respond to the needs of diverse student populations, be sharply reduced; the demand that a higher percentage of secondary school mathematics and science courses be taught by fully qualified teachers with the demand that teacher supply-sensitive salary incentives not be utilized; the demand that schools become more efficient by narrowing their programmatic goals to the strictly pedagogic with the demand that, in light of the changes taking place in the structure of the American family, schools assume a greater responsibility for immunizing, transporting, feeding, counseling and monitoring the after-school activities of elementary and secondary school pupils.

So what is to be done? The current context in which school reform initiatives are being discussed is highly reactive and, as a result, those of us who would like to play an active role in current educational reform efforts must be very sensitive to the need to identify problems about which something can and ought to be done. Merely adding new policy preferences to the numerous policy initiatives already flooding the policy market can only bring us closer to policy gridlock. Something for everyone is not enough. More is not necessarily better.

If, as I have implied, the task of problem-identification is not analogous to compiling a list of all unmet needs and unfulfilled expectations, but must begin with the joining of context to commitment, the connecting of what ought to be with resources and initiatives, then what is it that those of us holding leadership positions in programs of professional studies in education ought to be doing? I would argue that we need to focus our energies and resources on the creation of *effective* programs of professional educational studies in departments and schools of education.

Effective Schools of Education

My premise can be simply put. Under proper conditions and circumstances, programs of professional studies in education (i.e., departments and schools of education) are centrally posi-

tioned to serve as agents of improvement and reform. Under ideal circumstances, where they are effective, schools and departments of education are essential and unique bridge enterprises, repositories of critical understandings of how innovation and change take place at the school site and classroom level. In more concrete terms, this means that effective schools and departments of education can play a key role in aiding the transformation of broad policy objectives into specific programs of instructional improvement. Moreover, effective schools and departments of education serve the larger cause of school improvement by taking a vigorous role in efforts aimed at improving the quality and status of the teaching profession. In the university community, effective schools of education serve as a crucial link between those who advance scholarship through *knowledge accumulation* (the conduct of systematic research and inquiry) and those who advance learning through the conduct of systematic inquiry into the process of *knowledge transmission* from one group of learners to another. Obviously, this distinction between "knowledge creators" and "knowledge transmitters" is not to be taken too literally; the best scholars and the wisest educators are quite aware of, and most sensitive to, the mutually reinforcing relationship between knowledge creation and knowledge transmission. Nevertheless, educators are distinctive in that they do not accept the view held by large numbers of traditional scholars that there is a direct and rather uncomplicated relationship between the amount of knowledge an individual has acquired and the ability of that individual to effectively communicate a portion of this knowledge to novice learners. The basic aim of systematic inquiry in education (knowledge transmission) is to improve our understanding of how learning takes place and how knowledge transmission can be made more efficient.

This very argument is made by Jerome S. Bruner, in *The Relevance of Education:*

> Given the limited amount of time available for learning, there must be a due regard for saving the learner from needless learning. There must be some emphasis placed on economy of transfer and the learning of general rules. All societies must (and virtually all do) distinguish those who are clever from those who are stupid—though few of them generalize this trait across all activities. Cleverness in a particular activity almost universally connotes strategy, economy, heuristics, and highly gener-

> alized skills. A society must also place emphasis upon how one derives a course of action from what one has learned. Indeed, in an indigenous society it is almost impossible to separate what one does from what one knows. More advanced societies often have not found a way of dealing with the separation of knowledge and action—probably a result of the emphasis they place upon "telling" in their instruction. All societies must maintain interest among the young in the learning process, a minor problem when learning is in the context of life and action, but harder when it becomes more abstracted. Once these matters are in hand, a society assures that its necessary skills and procedures remain intact from one generation to the next. (p. 54)

Now, if all that I have said about effective schools of education is true, why is it the case that no real discussion has taken place on the role schools of education should and can play: a) in the identification of issues involving teaching and learning that require substantive, systematic and sustained research; b) in the recruitment, selection and preparation of prospective teachers and in the advanced training of experienced teachers preparing for instructional leadership positions; and c) in the steps that need to be taken to link research on teaching and learning to classroom practice and to public policy discussions?

If the virtues of effective schools of education are so self-evident, why were they ignored by all of the commissions, panels and study groups that reviewed and assessed the quality of the nation's elementary schools? Why were schools of education overlooked as agents for reform and change, despite their strategic position in the educational enterprise? My response to these questions will form the core of the rest of this report. More specifically, I will address the status and role of schools of education in the nation's major research universities. It is in these highly influential institutions that the ambiguous role that schools of education play in our society is most problematic.

The Regularity of Stress

If schools of education in the nation's leading universities can be said to possess one common virtue, surely that virtue is survival under duress, for few academic units have survived as borderline citizens for as long as they have. In the main, their history has paralleled the history of interest in school reform,

that is, long periods of indifference, followed by short outbursts of attention and concern. In the university, this attention and concern comes in the form of academic reviews, usually emanating from quarters in the university occupied by disciplinarians from the traditional academic areas.

Close scrutiny has rarely resulted in findings favorable to schools of education. More often than not, these reviews have found schools of education to be confused about their goals and objectives and unclear in their mission. Some reviewers have reported that they are driven too much by practical considerations and concerns, thus insensitive to the scholarly mission of the university. Other reviewers have concluded that they are driven too much by scholarly considerations and concerns, thus insensitive to the problems that plague practitioners. Some reviewers have reported that they are too detached from the problems of schooling and too narrow in their intellectual pursuits to be relevant. Other reviewers have concluded that they are too close to the problems of schooling and too diffuse in their intellectual outlook to be scholarly. That some of these complaints are contradictory or self-canceling has not prevented them from appearing from time to time in the same report. That, in response to these criticisms, many schools of education have pursued conflicting goals, further compounding the suspicions of their more orthodox colleagues in the university, tells us a great deal about the nature of the difficulties that confront these perpetually marginal enterprises.

It is impossible to understand schools of education unless one takes into account their long-standing status as victims of pervasive congenital prestige deprivation. Without prestige, faculty in schools of education are doomed to perpetual marginality in the university—their views, suggestions and recommendations for changes in the operation of the university destined to be filtered and diminished before being considered. Without prestige, schools of education, even those that have succeeded in formulating a coherent set of objectives, cannot function as agents of real school change and reform.

Existence Without Esteem

To get some sense of the disesteem reserved for schools of education, one need turn no further than to the observations of

James B. Conant, one of Harvard's legendary presidents, who gained great fame during the post-Sputnik period for his careful studies of elementary and secondary education. Conant's series of studies, including *The American High School Today* (1959), *The Child, the Parent and the State* (1959), *Slums and Suburbs: A Commentary on Schools in Metropolitan Areas* (1961) and *The Education of American Teachers* (1963), continue to be important and useful policy studies, illuminating today, as they did more than two decades ago, the path that leads us from where the nation's schools are today to where all of us would like to see them go. Nevertheless, Conant had moments when his vision was not so broad. Writing in *The Education of American Teachers*, Conant commented:

> Early in my career as a professor of chemistry, I became aware of the hostility of the members of my profession to schools or faculties of education. I shared the views of the majority of my colleagues on the faculty of arts and sciences that there was no excuse for the existence of people who sought to teach others how to teach. I felt confident that I was an excellent teacher and I had developed my skill by experience, without benefit of professors of education. I saw no reason why others could not do likewise, including those who graduated from college with honors in chemistry and who wished to teach high school. As joint author, with my former chemistry teacher, of a high school chemistry textbook, I was quite certain I knew all about the way the subject should be presented; I doubted that my understanding was shared by any professors of education. When any issues involving benefits to the graduate school of education came before the faculty of arts and sciences, I automatically voted with those who looked with contempt on the school of education. (pp. 1–2)

More than two decades after Conant's candid comments on how his views were formed—absent information, cogitation, and reflection—and how these views influenced his attitudes toward Harvard's academic activities in education, Harry Judge reviewed the status of graduate schools of education located in major research universities. Judge, director of the Department of Educational Studies at Oxford University, was commissioned by the Ford Foundation to address the question: "What is the place and role of the school of education in the research university, particularly at the graduate level, as well as in the world of educational practice itself?" In his report, *American Graduate Schools of Education: A View from*

Abroad, Judge (1982), echoing Conant's earlier remarks, noted "that schools and departments of education ... experience acute difficulty in locating themselves properly in their academic and professional spheres." Moreover, noted Judge:

> It seems unfortunate that the canard "schools of education are at the bottom of the pile and deserve to be" should be repeated so often with no serious attempt to discover precisely what the canard means. It is no great fun to work in places that are constantly sniffed at or spat upon. Moreover, the implication that the schools themselves are somehow "at fault" carries with it the suggestion that the dramatic and relevant improvements can be made, within and by those very same institutions. (p. 25)

At the University of California, a commission appointed by the Chancellor of the Berkeley campus to review the program of Berkeley's School of Education was unable to envisage "anything other then diminished prestige and second-class citizenship" for the School. The Berkeley Commission on Education (1981) reported:

> We can realistically envision a future in which the Berkeley School of Education, under creative leadership, will have climbed to a rank of Number One in the prestige ranking of such schools, but still retain its problematic, diminished standing and effectiveness on its home campus, Stanford and Harvard have already travelled this road, and do not provide us with ideal models. (p. 14)

Put another way, even if Berkeley's School of Education were to succeed in restoring its former status, as one of the handful of outstanding schools of education, the problem of congenital prestige deprivation would remain, a permanent residue of traditional university mores.

Noting that schools of education suffer from congenital prestige deprivation is easier done than explaining why. However, if one distills from Conant, Judge and a number of other observers whose criticisms appear to be more than merely the by-products of inflexible "status quoism," a few widely accepted beliefs about instruction and learning do emerge. These tacit beliefs, shared by a significant proportion of the university community, do seem to be causally related to the enduring low status of schools of education. They are as follows:

1. Teaching is a transparent act requiring minimal or no specialized training.
2. Good teaching is in any case an art, born of experience

and innate abilities, not a skill that can be cultivated or transmitted.

3. Little is currently being discovered about processes of teaching and learning that is worth communicating, in an extended serious program of specialized studies, to those intending to become teachers and non-classroom educators.

4. Any important new knowledge about teaching can reasonably be conveyed to teachers already in the classroom by the traditional means of communicating new knowledge, mainly the popular media.

5. By their own means, teachers and other non-classroom educators are able to keep in touch with new developments in their disciplines once they have graduated from their disciplines.

To these widely held, though rarely articulated, assumptions about teacher education and professional education programs could be added two more about the educational process in schools: 1) schools are well understood social structures and 2) the school change process is well understood and can be easily understood by anyone with a good mind who is prepared to invest a little time investigating the subject of education, schools and schooling.

If one accepts these all-too-popular assumptions, then universities *should* close down all educational efforts. There would be no sense in developing the learning sciences, because teaching is a natural act. There would be no need for major universities to play a role in building first-rate professional schools of education where prospective teachers, as well as skilled teachers, can commence and continue their intellectual development in an environment where everyone is encouraged to think systematically about the relationship between knowledge creation, teaching (knowledge transmission) and learning (knowledge acquisition), and conduct research designed to inform and improve educational practice. The major research universities would continue to create new knowledge in, say, physics, and those portions of that new knowledge that are appropriate to the elementary and secondary school curriculum would seep into the schools easily and automatically.

Changing the Social Economy of Education

But, what decision should be made, if one does *not* accept these all-too-popular assumptions regarding the mechanical, or lin-

ear, nature of teaching and learning? In particular, what is to be done about the status of schools of education, especially graduate schools of education in major research universities? Let us begin with the obvious: schools of education cannot heal themselves. They cannot arrest the pathologies that are produced by congenital prestige deprivation. Self-renewal in the face of constant devaluation is impossible. They need allies; they need prestige arbiters who are willing to announce and to promote a new relationship between schools of education, the university and the larger educational community.

If my arguments regarding prestige are correct, then it follows that the idea that schools of education deserve their low esteem and ignominy in the academy is one tacit norm that must be confronted. The *first* step that university leaders and prestige arbiters must take is to deny those common assumptions about teacher education and the educational process in the schools—and act as though first-rate teacher training programs can make a difference—and thereby make it possible that they will. Taking a stand in favor of what might be, rather than standing firmly on the hard ground of what exists, is the essential first step towards real educational reform.

How is this to be done? A good place to start would be for the leadership of the nation's great universities to challenge the widely held views in the university that elementary and secondary school teaching is an inferior occupation, for inferior students; that skilled teaching is an art and cannot be taught or learned; and that skillful use of knowledge is automatic, requiring little analysis and even less concern about how problem-sensitive research on teaching and learning can improve pedagogical practice. Unless these conventional attitudes about teaching are challenged, good students, driven away by the disdain expressed by those whom they respect, will not go into teaching. Unless good students go into teaching, real school reform is doomed before it gets off the ground.

A recent study by *Le Monde* ranked French universities on the basis of the quality of their preparation of secondary school teachers. That such a ranking of universities in the United States is impossible to conceive of is symptomatic of the gap that separates the rhetoric of support for educational reform and the reality of a counterproductive set of prestige

standards. Until the university's leadership encourages its talented graduates to consider teaching, even if but for a few years, the gap between what we expect of our public schools and what we will receive will only grow wider. Without affirmative action, the calls for reform by university-based school reformers will amount to loud but inert thunder or *brutum fulmen*. Would it not be remarkable if the great research universities in the United States competed with each other to educate the best scholar-practitioners in education?

Second, the university's leadership should also challenge both the view that a second-rate department in a traditional discipline is *ipso facto*, superior to any school of education and the view that the goals and objectives of major research universities preclude a real commitment to build first-rate programs in education. At the very least, this corrective action would enable schools of education to increase their level of interaction with the rest of the university community. At best, it would create a climate which would encourage the entire university community to become the locus for studies in education.

A third task for the university's leadership is removal of obstacles to the promotion of experimentation in teacher training programs. Schools of education within the university are being severely handicapped by a teacher licensing and credentialing system that is archaic, stubborn and, in many instances, seriously counterproductive. Should the leadership of universities forcefully petition for greater flexibility in the training and licensing of teachers, the current gatekeepers of the regulatory structure would probably offer little resistance. Failing this, it is likely that universities will, instead, find that pressures to "reform" teacher education reduce still further the influence of higher education institutions, in favor of apprenticeship models favored by constituencies hostile to universities.

To put it more bluntly: the university must be prepared to go beyond gestures; it must be prepared to lead school reform efforts. This can be done by creating an environment where *all* faculty are encouraged to think more systematically about the relationship among knowledge creation, teaching (knowledge transmission) and learning (knowledge acquisition). This can be done by creating a climate where well-developed state-

ments about expected academic competencies for university-bound students are matched by thoughtful examinations of the institutional, social and economic impediments that stand between expectation and reality. This can be done by supporting deliberate attempts to improve educational practice by fostering a climate that encourages problem-sensitive research in areas that are likely to yield new knowledge about the teaching and learning process. Above all else, the university can serve its own interest, the interests of university-bound students and the interests of teachers and educational administrators by developing first-rate schools of education and outstanding teacher education programs as academic units in which coherent and systematic research on the relationship between theory and educational practice is conducted, supported and valued.

These recommendations are not put forth as dictates, but are meant to be illustrative. Their point is this: if current school reform efforts are to move beyond the organizational consequences of the low prestige of the teaching profession, then the university must challenge the status quo. The university must challenge the conventional wisdom about teaching: that education is a profession whose low status and poor image are well deserved, immutable, and of no consequence to the university. The university must raise questions about the legitimacy of reflexively consigning education and teacher education programs to second-class citizenship. How can we in the university claim to be assisting in the revitalization of elementary and secondary education, renewing the morale, skills, status and self-confidence of the nation's public school teachers when, by word and deed, we tell teachers that, no matter what their individual levels of skill and competence, they are part of an enterprise whose intellectual deficiencies are not only structural but contagious? Status deprivation need not be either congenital, inherited or metastatic. It can be overcome by a triumph of leadership over common nonsense. We can do no less for the polity.

The Good School of Education

So far I have dwelt on the negative perceptions to be overcome. Now I would like to make a case for building the "good" school of education. My thesis is straightforward: if reviews of schools

of education are to become more than periodic exercises in obstacle recognition, the task of obstacle removal must begin; a new frame of reference for university involvement in education must be utilized. This new frame of reference should begin with the assumption that the good school of education is uniquely positioned to link research knowledge from many disciplines with educational practice and, moreover, that infusing practice with knowledge is a desirable and necessary outcome.

Too many students come out of high schools deficient in language and literacy skills—unable to concentrate or to sustain an extended line of thought in reading and writing, incapable of analytical and synthetic reasoning, deficient in connecting the concrete with the abstract. They cannot differentiate the personal from the impersonal and the literal from the figurative. They cannot perceive irony, ambiguity and multiple points of view; they do not recognize which social and moral perceptions are egocentric, ethnocentric, absolutist and authoritarian. Such deficiencies are not, and will not, be addressed by traditional academic departments of English. The study of literacy would have to include, at the very least, current research findings in cognitive psychology, anthropology, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, logic, rhetoric, general semantics, communications theory and artificial intelligence systems. The only arena where experts in these fields do come together to examine systematically the problems of literacy is in the good school of education.

A second and related issue that requires a multidisciplinary approach is the area of civics, or citizenship education. The nation is in the middle of a tide of demographic change destined to alter fundamentally all of our conventional definitions of civic and political life. The early stages of this revolution are now being felt in the nation's public schools. In California, audited enrollment data for the 1981–1982 school year show that more than one-half of the state's kindergarten through second grade population are members of a minority group: one-third of the total pupils in this grade bracket are Hispanic; approximately one-tenth are Black; and nearly one-twelfth are Asian or Pacific Islanders. By the academic year 1997–1998, more than one-half of the state's high school seniors will be non-White.

Given these demographic shifts, the nation's polity will

become either what Theodore H. White calls "a fissiparous coalition of many minorities", or we will become a society where racial, ethnic and life-style differences are valued, rather than serving as excuses for unlimited factionalism and mindless tribal political warfare. Which of these futures we will inherit depends, to a great extent, on the quality of instruction we provide to our elementary and secondary school pupils in the areas of history, civics, government and social studies. Effective citizenship in a democracy rests on a vigorous and viable system of civic education that teaches citizens-in-training to appreciate the balance between civic rights and civic obligations. The only arena where experts from the disciplines of history, political science, economics, geography, sociology, developmental psychology and instructional psychology do come together to examine the problem of providing effective citizenship education for the states' and the nation's elementary and secondary school pupils is in the good school of education.

A third example of the role that the good school of education can play is the task of developing a better understanding of the potential impact that technology will have on instruction, especially in the development of computer-based interactive intelligent tutoring systems. In this potential area of change, promises have far outstripped the realities of moving from theory to practice. Here again, schools of education are the only place in the university where scholars from diverse areas, including computer science, artificial intelligence, mathematics, instructional psychology, cognitive science and educational psychology can come together to conduct research and foster development on this issue.

In short, many of the issues faced by elementary and secondary education do not fall within the exclusive domain of single academic disciplines. Good schools of education recognize this and are organized accordingly. Good schools of education must be able to mobilize the highest intellectual skills of faculty trained in a wide range of disciplines, from computer science to anthropology, from political science to linguistics.

It does not follow that the good school of education must be organized along lines that ignore the knowledge bases, unique methodologies and other strengths of traditional academic disciplines. On the contrary, discipline-oriented faculty groupings are the best means for recruiting, evaluating

and encouraging high-quality research. However, practice-sensitive research is likely to have a greater impact if it is conducted by teams comprising individuals from several disciplines. This approach—interdisciplinary research teams of discipline-oriented faculty—is essential to the success of the good school of education.

However, what is appropriate for the good school of education is not thought to be good for the great university. Neither interdisciplinary research nor practice-sensitive research is valued highly by the prevailing norms of the university. As a result, a rather perverse incentive structure has been created. Education faculty are discouraged from pursuing research that has the greatest potential for optimizing both knowledge creation and practice improvement, the *raison d'etre* of a professional school.

Internal Reform

Having devoted so much effort to advising the university on how it ought to carry out its responsibilities in the field of education, we would be remiss if we did not acknowledge that many of the problems that have plagued schools of education and teacher education programs have been self-inflicted. Schools of education have not been as bad as their critics have claimed, but, alas, they have not been as good as they should have been.

Certainly, many schools of education have failed to define properly their role and mission as first-rate professional schools capable of creatively blending individual faculty research interests with the research needs of the professional community. Put in a situation where the primary sources of status, rewards and recognition are research and scholarship in the arts and sciences disciplines, many schools of education, particularly those in major research universities, have sought to distance themselves from the contaminating world of teacher training and educational practice. Educational faculties—those who should be most strongly committed to bringing research expertise to bear on the problems of the schools—have often remained aloof from practical educational concerns. Ironically, however, this distancing from the professional field has not brought schools of education acceptance as an arts and

science discipline. Rather, they are criticized both by their university colleagues and by practitioners in the field—by the former as still too practical and marginal to the university's main enterprise, and by the latter as engaged in work irrelevant to the needs of schools and schooling.

Second, schools of education tried to expand or, later, to maintain enrollments in the face of declining demand for teachers, expanding career opportunities outside education for women and minorities, declining salaries and status in education and declining—or the perception of declining—working conditions for educators. Moreover, many universities have long encouraged large education enrollments, even while their faculties have looked with disdain at education departments. As Gary Sykes (1983) notes, "on campus after campus, especially in the large public universities, teacher education provides a valuable source of income for the university at large, because state funding formulas reward enrollment, while allocation formulas favor every professional school and department *but* teacher education." (p. 90) Furthermore, where state institutions must accept students with varying ability and preparation levels, education departments have been looked to by other departments to provide another service: a place where poorer students could be shunted, enabling other schools and departments on campus to remain unsullied (Sykes, 1983). Many schools of education have not withstood these pressures. As a result, they have accepted students with lower scores on standardized tests and lower grade point averages than have departments in other fields in the same institutions. Widely reported figures on the relatively low test scores of those entering or stating their intention to enter school teaching and administrative careers have tarnished the status of all students and professors of education—regardless of the quality of education faculties' own research and teaching, the accuracy with which such national figures reflect the quality of students at individual schools of education, and the relevance of standardized test scores for identifying those with greatest promise as educators.

Third, there is much mediocre work in education, and this work—atheoretical, lacking rigor in design, or examining trivial problems—has negatively affected perceptions of the

overall quality of scholarship in education. Harold Howe, formerly U.S. Commissioner of Education, argues:

> The plethora of graduate work in education in this country has produced a vast outpouring of second-and third-class work, some in universities with otherwise high standards. This overwhelming body of mediocrity casts its shadow on the truly excellent work going forward in some places. (p. vii)

Finally, lacking a central purpose, schools of education have often been fragmented and isolated collections of individuals working on specialized problems from particular perspectives. As a result, they have failed to develop coherent education programs or make the kind of research advances that could be generated by greater collaboration and interaction.

If teaching and learning in our schools are to be improved, schools of education must also examine themselves and take steps to overcome their shortcomings. We cannot excuse our own failures—but neither can the university leadership and academic faculties use these shortcomings to justify their own inaction. Commitment to strengthening education by the university leadership and reforms within schools of education must take place together.

A final comment about the relationship between the larger university community and schools of education—in his book, *The Open Mind* (1955), J. Robert Oppenheimer tells of the great mathematician Hilbert who, had the world permitted him, would have liked to think of his studies in mathematics as being totally independent of worldly vicissitudes. Hilbert had a colleague, an equally eminent mathematician, Felix Klein, who was certainly aware, if not of the dependence of mathematics generally on society, at least of the dependence of mathematics generally on society, at least of the dependence of mathematics on the physical and applied sciences which nourish it and give it application. Klein used to take some of his students to meet once a year with the engineers of the Technical High School in Hannover. One year he was ill and asked Hilbert to go in his stead. Klein, aware of Hilbert's predilections, urged him, in the little talk he would give, to try to refute the then prevalent notion that there was a basic hostility between mathematics, science and technology. Hilbert promised to heed Klein's advice; but when the time came, a

magnificent absentmindedness led him instead to speak his own mind: "One hears a good deal nowadays of the hostility between mathematics and the applied sciences. I don't think this is true, Gentlemen. I am quite sure that it isn't true. It really can't be true. *Sie haban ja gar nichts miteinander zu tun.* [They have nothing whatsoever to do with one another.]". (pp. 88–89)

Today, the problems that beset the public elementary and secondary school system deny us the luxury of such quaint absentmindedness. The longer we deny the mutual dependence between the university and the schools, the worse our mutual difficulties will become. Teaching is the oldest and the most important art—and yet it continues to be among the lowest valued and least appreciated of professions. Ironically, our great universities have helped to create this sorry anomaly; they now must challenge the very circumstances that they have helped to create.

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XI

REDEFINING THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS

Michael G. Fullan

In-service education or professional development of teachers is usually thought of in terms of the courses, workshops, conferences and other formal meetings of teachers. Research on implementation of innovations and school improvement has revealed a more fundamental and systematic conception of professional development which holds far more promise than our traditional conceptions. The new definition of professional development is supported by several convergent areas of research, namely, research on school improvement, effective schools, staff development, and school leadership. In this paper, I will describe this emerging redefinition by addressing the following three questions: (1) what is change from the point of view of professional development of teachers, (2) what factors and processes give us insight into how effective professional development occurs, and (3) what are the implications of (1) and (2) for redefining and planning professional development more effectively?

What is Change in Relation to Professional Development

To answer the question addressed in this section we need to start with the basic question of what is supposed to happen when good professional development occurs. If one thinks about this question in common sense terms the answer would be along the following lines: the purpose of professional development is to improve the knowledge and abilities of teachers

to perform their job more effectively in relation to particular objectives. If such improvement were to occur, what exactly are we talking about? As I have defined it elsewhere (Fullan, 1982), in relation to education innovation in the classroom, typically, at least the following three aspects or dimensions would be affected:

1. Use of new or revised *materials;*
2. Use of new skills, behaviors, i.e., changes in *teaching practices;*
3. Changes in *beliefs and understanding* (or pedagogical assumption and theories).

I would argue that most professional development initiatives are intended in some fashion to affect the above three dimensions. The use of new materials is the most obvious because it is concrete and tangible. You can see and describe materials, and you can fairly readily answer the question of whether materials are actually being used. The second two dimensions, however, are much more problematic. They are, I would suggest, at the heart of professional development. Changes in teaching practices and in underlying beliefs have to do respectively with changes in *doing* and *thinking*. It is for this reason that professional development is simultaneously so potentially powerful and difficult. It is not easy for people, even if pursued willingly, to change their behavior and thinking in significant ways. Yet this is exactly the implicit assumption that underlies professional development. Professional development then, is in the business of helping to change teachers (in this example) through development of new skills, and conceptual capacities. It is none other than *a learning process,* only it is the teachers rather than the students who are doing the learning. Given a definition of professional development of this sort, let us now turn to the question of what we know about the factors and processes that are associated with successful improvement.

Factors and Processes of Successful Improvement

Case examples are often the best way to convey the factors and processes at work. In another publication I described Huberman's (1981) study of an innovative reading program:

ECRI is a structured reading instruction program available through the National Diffusion Network. Huberman (1981) conducted a case study of one school district's use of the program and found widespread implementation in classrooms (see also Huberman & Crandall 1983). Two of the explanatory factors singled out were "the quality and amount of technical assistance" and "sustained central office and building level support" (p.iii). The district arranged for certain principals and teachers to receive training at the developer's center. All teacher users received training and follow-up assistance from the principal and other helping teachers who had received the initial training. Huberman (1981, p. 68) comments, "It was also decided that ongoing assistance should be provided, hence the idea of a 'helping teacher' who would give workshops, demonstrate the ECRI techniques, provide supplies and materials, chair a monthly in-service meeting between users, provide on-demand consultancy."

The developmental nature of learning how to do something new was recognized by a policy of easing teachers into ECRI rather than expecting comprehensive implementation at once. Moreover, Huberman found that early difficulties were typical: "Teachers, trainers and administrators all talk of a 'difficult', 'overwhelming', sometimes 'humiliating' experience during the first six months, and for some during the initial two years" (p. 81). He notes that almost every respondent attributed the survival of ECRI during this period to the strong administrative support and the helping teacher. Activities mentioned as valuable included frequent in-service meetings "during which teachers exchange tips, war stories, encouragements, and complaints, and formulated requests to the helping teacher" (pp. 70–71).

As Huberman describes it, the initial 6 months is a period of high anxiety and confusion. After some settling down, there still remains a significant period of relating the specific behaviors to the underlying rationale of the new program. After 6 months, "there is cognitive mastering over the individual pieces of ECRI, but little sense of the integration of the separate parts or, more globally, why certain skills or exercises are related to specific outcomes. Concern for understanding the structure and rationale of the program grows as behavioral mastery over its parts is achieved" (p. 91).

In other words, changes in attitudes, beliefs, and understanding tend to *follow* rather than precede changes in behavior.

Even this short description gives a rich picture of how professional development as defined in this paper occurs over a period of time. It gives a much more complex, but paradoxically more understandable idea of how teachers learn, that is, how professional development really occurs.

The most significant factors related to successful professional development are those at the school level. The school culture and the role of the principal are particularly important. Judith Little's (1985) recent work best describes the kind of school culture most directly related to ongoing professional development. This work is based on three perspectives:

(1) the school as an environment for learning to teach;
(2) the school as an institution organized for its own steady improvement and for the advancement of professional knowledge and practice; and
(3) the school as a place for pursuing a career (Little, 1985:1).

She contrasts two types of schools. In the first type, there are no professional obligations or rewards to assist newcomers, norms of interaction convey an independent trial and error approach, rates of interaction are extremely low, and there is no accepted body of pedagogical principle or practice. The opposite type referred to as "schools organized for steady improvement" displayed the reverse characteristics. In referring to one example Little writes:

> In one of . . . the schools, classroom observation is so frequent, so intellectually lively and intense, so thoroughly integrated into the daily work and so associated with accomplishments for all who participate, that it is difficult to see how the practices could fail to improve teaching (Little, 1985:12).

Similar norms related to collaborative, sustained interaction among teachers and other professionals focusing on instruction are identified by several other researchers. Huberman and Miles (1984) analyze the role and importance of direct ongoing assistance (professional development) in the successful implementation of innovations. Joyce et al (1984) elaborate on the school organized for constant improvement. Showers (1985) describes the features of "coaching". All these examples and others reflect the same basic message. Professional development of teachers depends on a new culture of the school organized to encourage support and require interaction and joint activities among teachers.

Since the school as a unit is crucial, naturally the principal as head is also central to professional development. Research on the principal as instructional facilitator or leader is so abundant over the past five years that it would be difficult to deny the key role of the principal. While this research has

focused on effective schools, or school improvement through the implementation of innovations, it is clear that the principal's direct and indirect influence on teachers' work and work conditions is the centerpiece of this role. In their review, Clark et al. (1984) briefly summarize the nature of the principal's role:

> School improvement research has documented the ability of the principal to influence change. This influence is often communicated through suasion and the assertion of high expectations. Principals who become involved in change are more likely to function in a facilitative, coordinative role rather than in a directive role. The actions taken by effective principals include: (1) communicating the importance and the likelihood of successful implementation, (2) providing or arranging for the training and materials necessary for successful implementation, and (3) scheduling time for teachers to work with and on the new program or practice.

Policies and practices at the district level, of course, can influence conditions of the level of the school. There is no need to elaborate on these characteristics (see Fullan 1982: Ch. 12, Fullan 1985). They concern criteria for selecting principals, support and pressure on schools to concentrate on the development of plans for improvement at the school level, follow through of initiatives, allocation of resources and organizational arrangements conducive to collaborative deliberation within the school, and the like.

To summarize, professional development is a process of learning new skills, behaviors and concepts. It takes place over time, incrementally and developmentally involving ongoing assistance and psychological support, and depends on certain organizational conditions at the school.

Implications

There are five implications which should be emphasized. First, professional development is the sum total of formal and informal experiences of teachers. The day to day professional experiences of teachers are more powerful than the formal workshops and meetings. Integrating the formal and informal activities in consistent, sustained and focused directions is the key. Second, such integration does not happen by accident. It can be planned. A small amount of regular time can go a long

way in developing new skills over time. Third, collective (two or more teachers) not individual professional development is required. Fourth, the school is the main unit of change. This does not mean that the entire school staff is engaged in the same activity, or all at once, but that the professional climate or culture of the school sets the tone and conditions for involvement. Fifth, any particular professional development sequence should be seen in the context of the evolving culture of the school, that is, each attempt should be seen in terms of what can be learned for doing it better the next time. In this way the long term goal is improving the capacity of the school as a place for professional learning.

None of this is to say that university courses, well done single workshops, and the like do not make a contribution. They can create awareness and initial enthusiasm. They can have major cumulative impact on individuals. However, until the school as a workplace changes to support more intensive forms of professional development of teachers, there will not be any significant improvements in the quality of teaching.

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XII

THE CHALLENGES OF CHANGE

Robert L. Saunders

The theme I have selected for my year as AACTE president is "Meeting the Challenges of Change." I want to comment briefly on the theme itself and then suggest several kinds of change I believe are especially pertinent to our role as teacher educators and to our collective work within AACTE. I will not treat change in the way Toffler has in recent years or as Naisbitt and others are now. Instead, I want to identify some actions I hope that we will take: Some would be new initiatives; others continuations of current actions which need more intensity, more aggressiveness, more enthusiasm. Mixed in will be some reasons why the changes are needed, some benefits we can expect to accrue if we make the changes, and some liabilities we are likely to suffer if we don't make them. These suggested changes are pretty urgent, I think, and I hope you agree.

The Courage to Change

We must signal to all our publics that we are willing to change, that we have the courage to change. Too often we are perceived as being resistant to change. Our harshest critics—and we have some—accuse us of featherbedding, protecting the educational establishment (which we are often viewed as controlling) because by doing so we protect turf. More than a few political reformers cite us as being part of the problem and thus not deserving to be a legitimate partner in the reform movement. These allegations appear in some of the reform literature, in several of the national and state commission reports,

and in state legislative initiatives in more than a few states. The press and broadcast media often depict teacher education as the root cause of this country's "rising tide of mediocrity." A *Newsweek* article "Why Teachers Fail," September 24, 1984, serves as a classic example. This article leaves the impression that all teacher education programs are like the worst ones, that the weaknesses in some programs are rampant in all. David Imig has said that the author of the article reported that what he wrote must be accurate because practically no one in teacher education offered rebuttal. This is a rather serious indictment.

There are probably several wise and prudent actions we could take in response to this circumstance. Some are underway now within AACTE and others are being planned. In our summer leadership institute last year in Colorado Springs, for example, we received valuable advice about political interactions and assistance from Congressman Pat Williams, Colorado Governor Richard Lamb, and two legislative relations staff members of the Colorado Education Association. Plans are being made for the leadership conference next June to focus on media relations—how to solicit the support of media and how to deal with some representatives who intentionally or otherwise are harming teacher education by superficial, uninformed coverage, and who seek information to document their biases.

These are but two actions which I believe can be called responsive change. Another is the association's initiative in creating the National Commission on Excellence in Teacher Education. This was a proactive attempt to *initiate change in the way teacher education is perceived, to dramatize its strengths, shortcomings and needs.* All of us should resolve to use this report to the greatest degree possible to improve teacher education. Let's resolve to make better use of this report than we did with that fine Bicentennial Report of 1976 (Howsam, Corrigan, Denemark & Nash).

I need to mention two other change initiatives which I think reflect favorably on our association and need our continuing attention. The first of these is the attempted redesign of NCATE. AACTE has been in the vanguard of this effort, among the first, if not the first, of the constituent members to push for redesign. We have spent considerable time and money,

along with institutional time and money on this effort. Many AACTE members have paid their own expenses in this work. The status of the redesign effort has been covered elsewhere in this meeting. My purpose here is to cite the effort as an example of responsive change being made now, and as an example of the type of change we must be willing to make in the future.

The second example is the new task force appointed just two weeks ago to study the organization and structure of AACTE. The association's governance and membership structure hasn't been studied in depth since the Pierce Study of 1967. The Board of Directors commissioned the new study as a way of responding to changes and forces which are impacting on the association—and in some cases causing some ominous tensions. The Board believes that we need to respond to these changes in a proactive way, to design new ways to accommodate the emergence of informal subsets of AACTE, to accommodate and work with the growing number of special internal groups in education, and to seek ways to involve more education faculty in SCDEs and the numerous specialized professional associations with which they are affiliated. Again, my purpose is not to describe the work planned by the new task force, but rather to cite its creation as another example of change being made by our association.

What additional change imperatives are on the horizon? Let me be so bold as to suggest a few. I will stop short of saying what the specifics of the changes ought to be. That's something we ought to do in concert. Here they are:

1. Designing a new model for preparing teachers for the rest of this century and into the 21st century. Remember Ann Flowers' theme of the 1984 AACTE annual meeting? Teachers entering the classroom this year will likely spend more than half of their careers teaching in the 21st century. Will teacher educators and teachers in the year 2000 view the present model as the best we had to offer? I don't think so. Many of us don't believe that now in 1985, much less in the year 2000. The present model has remained substantially unchanged for half a century. What should the new model look like? If we in teacher education don't change it, who will? Governors? Legislators? State Boards of Education? Will we like their model better? Don't bet on it!

2. How can we broaden the applicant pool for teacher education programs to include career changers, "inners and outers." Isn't there a place for able part-time teachers? Can we find ways to do this without deprofessionalizing teaching? How can we elevate the pool of applicants for career teachers, increase the number and proportion of outstanding and talented students? How can we collaborate with the larger profession through their professional bodies toward this end?

3. We need to become more politically active and astute; more influential. Can our state units help voters decide to elect successors to the current "new breed of education-minded governors" who are of similar persuasion and who will keep the flame of education reform glowing? Can all of our state units become "movers and shakers" for educational reforms in the respective states as a few are doing now? Can we contribute to local and state efforts in such a way that we are perceived as advocates of change, rather than as defenders of the status quo? I think we can.

4. What can be done to improve the status and image of teacher education in our respective institutions? How can we get our programs funded at levels comparable with other professional schools, removing the basis for researchers like Pesseau and Orr (Phi Delta Kappan, October, 1980) having to write about the "outrageous underfunding of teacher education." But is parity in funding possible without our becoming more aggressive at home and willing to discuss our shortcomings and limitations without feeling threatened and unappreciated? Perhaps I'm meddling a bit here, but I think we tend to be too paranoid about public criticism. Sometimes we are so desirous of attaining accreditation that we rebut citations of weakness rather than using them as levers to strengthen programs, increase funding and elevate program status. Rather than argue that a state should not withdraw program approval if a certain percentage of our graduates fail an exit competency exam, wouldn't it be better to risk the penalty and use the situation as leverage for correcting whatever condition (including funding level perhaps) caused the problem? Rather than resisting increased admission and graduation requirements, would it not be better to stand solidly in favor of them and see how far the state is willing to go, see what its "politically acceptable failure rate" is, and let them sue for leniency.

Other professions are more politically astute on matters like this, I suspect, than we are.

Space doesn't permit my detailing other areas in which change would seem to be desirable. But I will pause long enough to conclude this section with a list of issues cited by Dean Corrigan in Austin, Texas, last fall at a national symposium hosted by the R & D Center for Teacher Education, Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. Here are Corrigan's "Baker's Dozen":

1. Recommendations of the National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education.
2. Proposed redesign of NCATE.
3. Reauthorization of both the Higher Education Act and the National Institute for Education.
4. Maintaining quality in the face of teacher shortages and alternative certification models.
5. Implementing career ladders as training models and certification plans as well as pay systems.
6. Validating the importance of professional education and the role of colleges of education.
7. Recapturing the educational research mission from private corporations.
8. Examining the uses and misuses of tests for teachers and students at local, state and national levels.
9. Decrease in minority teachers while minority school children are increasing.
10. Responding to new organizational and institutional mechanisms such as those proposed by Professors Finn and Ravitch and Governors Alexander and Babitt.
11. Creating the conditions for professional practice and training.
12. Designing incentives to attract and keep outstanding individuals in education.
13. Developing local, state and federal policies to establish *teaching as a profession*.

Change with Continuity

The kinds of changes I am advocating are not of the reckless abandon variety. I'm not suggesting that we throw away what we have worked hard to achieve, what we believe to be good

and sound, what we believe to be the cornerstone of the profession. For example, we know what we believe is the base of essential knowledge that entry-level teachers need to function effectively. We have that in print in an AACTE Task Force Report. Whatever changes we make we should not negate certain postures and positions we have taken, such as our insistence that this essential knowledge be required for entry into the profession. We may embrace alternative programs that change the method by which students acquire this knowledge, even the time it takes to acquire it, but we should hold firmly to the requirement that they have it before being entrusted to teach.

There are certain other imperatives to which we are committed—such as multicultural education—which we should hold onto as we make changes to improve teacher education. We should hold them as long as they appear to be valid and until we decide consciously to modify them.

To summarize this point, to change in responsive and responsible ways, does not mean to change for the sake of change, to change everything because important reference groups want us to change. When I suggest that we focus on responsive and responsible change, I suggest that we neither discard the many gains we have made in teacher education nor abandon the ground we have captured during the long struggle to make teacher education a true profession.

Yet change we must. The question is what kind of change and for what purpose. I've talked already about the kinds of changes I suggest that we make. Let me now identify some of the results we should seek.

Change and Credibility

Credibility—that elusive status we all want so badly but haven't yet achieved, at least to the degree we want. What can we do to make our programs—and our efforts—better understood and more highly respected? Can respect, prestige, and credibility be attained without our making changes that are substantive, politically attractive and perhaps even daring?

This is an extremely important matter to me personally and I have given it very high priority in my work during the past four or five years. My experience leads me to several convictions which I will share with you in the hope that they may

serve as directional signals and guidelines for future efforts. Responsive change in these directions will, I'm convinced, produce both programmatic improvement and increased credibility. The two are so closely intertwined that they may be inseparable. Consider these areas in which change can enhance credibility:

1. Increasing the rigor of our curriculum. Let's confess—too much of our curricula is fluffy and without a solid base, due in part to our excesses during the 60's and early 70's. Bruner told us years ago that any subject could be taught at variable levels of sophistication. Too often, I fear, we have "dumbed down" some significant concepts to rather low levels, to truisms and conventional wisdom. Learning theories, instructional strategies and curricular mapping, for example, are essential components of professional training and should be taught at levels commensurate with their importance.

2. Grading, assessment and expectations. We all know that too often our graduates condemn our work by reciting how easy our courses were, how easy it was to make A's, and how unchallenging were our programs. Often these testimonies are made to groups and agencies attempting educational reform and are used as evidence that professional education is both unexciting and unnecessary. More than a few of us are called upon to explain and defend the paradox wherein education majors possess lesser academic skills but receive the highest grades on campus. We must either find ways to explain this phenomenon or ways to eliminate the problem. This is a fertile field for responsive change.

3. Credibility will be increased if we can demonstrate genuine respect for and greater reliance upon the academic components of teacher preparation, both in regard to general education and teaching field content. We rely too much on lower division, survey type courses. We need more depth, fewer areas of endorsement. We shouldn't permit endorsements to be meager just because some state departments permit them to be. Respect for our graduates will increase if their teaching majors are as strong as their counterparts in Arts and Sciences—not just in terms of hours but also in rigor and substance. Teaching field courses in education schools (such as "Math For Teachers") are suspect. Corrective actions in this area will be rather difficult for many of us, but are essential, I

think, if our programs are to be accorded the respect and prestige we want them to have. This, by the way, is one of the features of MAT programs that is very attractive to political reformers.

There are, of course, other ways for us to direct change toward improved credibility. I suggest that we give this high priority, both in our individual settings and as we work together through AACTE.

Changing With Confidence

My last suggestion is that we approach change with a sense of confidence. We should have no trouble doing this for several reasons. One reason is the realization that we have tremendous ability and talent within the ranks of teacher education. We have many people with real expertise in the field, scholarly people who can exert leadership and make things happen.

Another reason is the track record we have in change: there are numerous examples we can point to where successful change efforts were made. In our task force programs we have a good record of success in taking initiatives in areas needing study and change, such as the essential knowledge base for beginning educators, the need to extend programs for the initial preparation of teachers, and multicultural education. Some dozen or so task forces are operative now and we should be able to mount new ones with high probability of success.

We should feel confident also because of the demonstrated willingness of members to serve on committees and task forces. You may be surprised to know that when task forces are being composed each year we have several times more volunteers than slots. That's a good sign and indicative, I think, of a healthy organization, one anxious to improve the profession it represents.

So there is, I submit, good reason to believe that we can approach changes in teacher education with confidence that we can produce desirable and beneficial results.